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GREAT BRITAIN

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BY ROBERT HENRY MAR

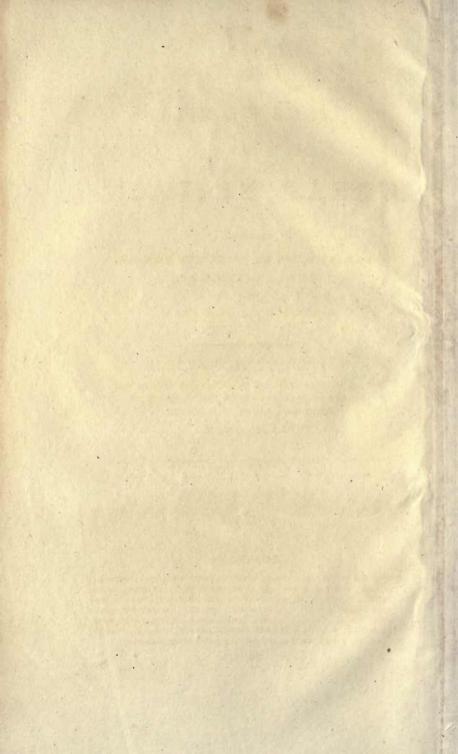
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#### HISTORY

OF

# GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM THE

FIRST INVASION OF IT BY THE ROMANS UNDER JULIUS CÆSAR.

WRITTEN ON A NEW PLAN.

#### By ROBERT HENRY, D.D.

ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF EDINBURGH, MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIANS OF SCOTLAND, AND OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH.

#### THE FIFTH EDITION.

IN TWELVE VOLUMES.

VOL. VII.

#### LONDON:

PRINTED FOR CADELL AND DAVIES; F.C. AND J.RIVINGTON; R.LEA; J.CUTHELL;
J. NUNN; LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN; LACKINGTON, ALLEN,
AND CO.; E. JEFFERY; C. LAW; WHITE AND COCHRANE; B. AND R. CROSBY;
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Strahan and Prefton, Printers-Street, London.

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#### triotifin, that it entired every beartre, All thurba-GREAT BRITAIN.

#### 17th of November, the Earl of Pembroke was BOOK IV.

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#### a traff which he had well deferred, and which he has mobile a good CHAP. Into drive bounded the

The civil and military history of Great Britain, from the death of King John, A.D. 1216., to the accession of Henry IV., A.D. 1399.

#### SECTION I.

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From the death of King John, A.D. 1216., to the death of Henry III., A.D. 1272.

THE death of King John was very feafon- A.D. 1216. able, and faved both his family and his country from the ruin with which they King John were threatened, by the confederacy of the re- feafonable. volted barons of England with Prince Lewis of France.

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A.D. 1216. Coronation of Henry III.

William, Marshal of England and Earl of Pembroke, the chief support and ornament of the royal cause, conducted young Henry, eldest fon of the late King, to Gloucester, where he had called a meeting of the nobles; and placing the infant prince (then only in his tenth year) in the midst of the assembly, he addressed them in a fpeech, at once fo full of wifdom, loyalty, and patriotifm, that it gained every heart. All the barons and clergy who were prefent, acknowledged Henry for their lawful king, and proceeded to his coronation on the 28th of October. In another affembly of the barons, at Briftol, on the 11th of November, the Earl of Pembroke was unanimously chosen Protector of the kingdom; a trust which he had well deserved, and which he discharged with the greatest honour, wisdom, and fuccess.2

Earl of Pembroke appointed Protector.

Popular measures of the Protector. One of the first acts of the Protector's administration was to renew the great charter of liberties, the darling object on which the English had set their hearts; a wise measure which brought great popularity to the royal cause's. At the same time he wrote letters to all the discontented barons, earnestly entreating them to submitto the government of young Henry, against whom they could have no complaint, solemnly promising them indemnity for all past offences, and all pos-

Avelieum.

M. Paris, p. 200. Heming. l. 3. c. 1.

M.Paris, p. 200. Chron. Petriburgen. Trivit. p. 168.

Blackstone's Introduction to the great charter, p. 43.

fible fecurity for the future enjoyment of their A.D. 1216. liberties, honours, and estates 4. These letters produced a great effect. Several powerful barons, as the Earls of Salisbury, Arundel, and Warrenne, with the Protector's eldest son, deferted Lewis, and came over to Henry; and many others waited only for a convenient opportunity to follow their example. 5

While thefe things were doing in the cabinet, A.D. 1217. the war was going on in the field with various fuccess; but without any decisive action. Lewis failed in all his attempts upon Dover, through the incorruptible fidelity and invincible refolution of Hubert de Burgh, its heroic governor 6, In the beginning of the year 1217., Lewis received a confiderable reinforcement from France, which, together with the citizens of London, (who still warmly espoused his cause against their native prince) enabled him for some time to maintain the dispute. At length, on the 19th May A.D. 1217., a decifive battle was fought in the streets of Lincoln, in which the army of Prince Lewis was entirely defeated, the Earl of Perche, its commander in chief, was killed, and many of the English barons of that party were taken prisoners. On the news of this defeat, Prince Lewis, who Peace was then besieging Dover, hastened to London; between Henry and but some reinforcements which he expected being Prince

Military tranfactions.

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Lewis.

<sup>4</sup> Rymer, vol. 1. p. 215, 216. Brady, Append. No. 143.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> M.Paris, p. 202. <sup>6</sup> Id. p. 200.

<sup>7</sup> Id. p. 204. Chron. Dunft. p. 81.

A.D.1217. destroyed by the English fleet, and the royal army approaching, he entered into a negotiation with the Protector, which foon terminated in a peace 8. By this peace, Lewis, having stipulated for a full indemnity to the English of his party, renounced his pretenfions to the crown of England; and foon after departed with all his forces into France. In this manner, by the courage, wifdom, and moderation of the Protector, the flames A.D. rerr. of a deftructive civil war were happily extinguished, and young Henry was seated in peace

on the throne of his ancestors.

Death of the Protector, and fuccession of Peter de Roches and Hubert de Burgh.

After the departure of the French, the Protector faithfully performed every article of the treaty with the English barons, by putting them in full poffession of their estates and honours. He sent itinerant judges into all parts of the kingdom, to fee that the greater charter, and the charter of the forests, were fully executed. In a word, he omitted nothing that might contribute to the true honour of his royal mafter, and to the peace and prosperity of his country. But while this great and good man was thus nobly employed, he was carried off by death about the middle of March A.D. 1210. to the unspeakable loss both of the King and kingdom. He was fucceded in the regency by Peter de Roches Bishop of Winchester, a Poictiven, and Hubert de Burgh, high jufficiary. 14

A.D. 1210.

Rymer, vol. 1. p. 221. M. Paris, p. 210.

<sup>9</sup> M. Paris, p. 210. Annal. Waverlien. p. 184.

<sup>1</sup>º Chron. T. Wikes, p. 39. M. Paris, p. 210.

One of the worst consequences of the late civil A.D. 1219. wars was, that they greatly increased the lawless licentious spirit of many of the great barons, who the new were little better than great robbers; and the regents. mutinous disposition of the citizens of London, who were still very much disaffected to the prefent government. The new regents employed the three first years of their administration in reducing the Earl of Albemarle, and some other turbulent barons, to order, and in quelling and punishing fome dangerous mutinies of the Londoners. In doing this they exercifed some acts of power and fevererity, by which they gave great offence; particularly, by commanding one Constantine, an audacious incendiary, and fome other ringleaders of the London mob, to be hanged without a formal trial. 11

Hubert de Burgh, who had the chief direction A.D. 1222. of affairs, thought it would diminish the general Henry deodium which his great power, and the spirited age. clared of exertion of it, had drawn upon him, to have the King, who was now in his fixteenth year, declared of age. He therefore obtained a bull from the Pope (who was still considered as superior lord of the kingdom), declaring Henry of age, and commanding all the barons to deliver up the royal caftles, which they held, into the King's hands. 12

The high justiciary fet an example of obedience Refractory to this bull, by giving up the tower of London, barons re-

<sup>11</sup> M. Paris, p. 214. 218. Chron. Dunft. p. 129. Annal. Waver-12 M. Paris, p. 220. Trivit. p. 174. lien. p. 187.

A.D.1223, and Dover caftle, two royal fortresses, which had been committed to his custody during the King's minority. But this was an example which many of the barons did not incline to follow. The Earls of Chefter and Albemarle, and feveral others, refused to give up the royal castles which were in their custody, raised forces to support their refusal, and the nation was threatened with another civil war; which was happily prevented by the interpolition of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, by threatening the refractory barons with excommunication, brought them to fubmit.13

A.D. 1224. War with France concluded

Some events had lately happened in France, which engaged the attention of Henry and his minifters, particularly the death of Philip Augustus, by a truce, and the succession of his son Lewis. That prince had engaged, by a fecret article in the treaty which he made with Henry at his departure out of England (as some of our historians affirm), to restore Normandy at his accession to the crown of France 4. Ambaffadors were fent to demand the performance of this article; but Lewis was for far from complying with this demand, that he raifed an army, with which he fell into the province of Poictou, which still belonged to England, took feveral places of strength, and at last the city of Rochelle, the capital of the province 15. On the news of these losses, Henry called a parliament at Westminster, from which he requested an

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> M. Paris, p. 221. Chron. Donft. p. 138.

<sup>14</sup> M. Paris, p. 207. 15 Rymer, vol. 1. p. 269.

aid to enable him to put a stop to the progress of A.D. 1224 the French arms, which threatened the total expulfion of the English from the continent. The parliament at first shewed no great disposition to comply with this request; but upon the King's confenting to confirm the charters of their liberties, they granted him a fifteenth of all the moveables both of the clergy and laity 16. With this money the King raifed a confiderable army, which he fent into France, under the command of his brother Prince Richard Earl of Poictou and Cornwall, and the Earl of Salifbury. These generals having landed with an army at Bourdeaux, A.D. 1225., recovered fome places, and, in A.D. 1227., brought the King of France to confent to a truce for three years 17. By this means peace was reflored both at home and abroad.

Henry, in a parliament held at Oxford in Fe. A.D. 1227. bruary A.D. 1227., was declared of full age for Henry affumes the government, and the Regent, Hubert de Burgh, governdivested of his office; but still retaining the favour ment. of the King, he was made Earl of Kent. 18

A violent quarrel broke out this year between A.D. 1228. King Henry and his brother Richard Earl of Cornwall. Richard had feized a manor belonging to Henry and one Walleran, affirming it belonged to his earldom his brother of Cornwall; and when the King commanded him Richard. to reftore it to its former owner, he refused to obey; and forming a confederacy with feveral

Quarrel between

<sup>16</sup> M. Paris, p. 223. Rymer, vol. 1. p. 277.

<sup>18</sup> M. Paris, p. 232. 7 Rymer, vol. 1. p. 294, 295.

A.D. 1228. great barons, raifed a powerful army. The King being quite unprepared to refift fo great a force, and knowing his brother's covetous disposition, entered into a negotiation with him, and gained him over by a grant of lands of much greater. value than those in question. The confederates being thus deprived of their head, were obliged. to dismiss their forces, and remain quiet. 19

A.D. 1220. Expedition to the continent.

Lewis VIII. of France, after a very fhort reign, was now dead; and having been succeeded by an infant fon, that kingdom became a scene of great confusion, and presented Henry with a favourable opportunity of recovering his French dominions. The Normans even importuned him to come over with an army, and promifed to receive him with open arms 20. But Henry being engaged in trifling disputes with his English subjects, neglected this favourable opportunity. At length, however, when the troubles in France were composed, and Queen Blench established in the regency, Henry, very unfeafonably, refolved to make a vigorous, attempt for the recovery of these dominions. But this attempt was as ill conducted as it was ill timed. In the year 1229. Henry fummoned all his military tenants, both in England and Ireland, to attend him at Portfmouth on Michaelmas day, in order to embark for France. In confequence of this fummons, a very numerous and gallant army appeared at the time and place appointed; but fuch was the negligence or treachery of Henry's

<sup>19</sup> M. Paris, p. 233.

ministers, that fufficient numbers of ships were A.D. 1229. not provided for their transportation. This occafioned the expedition to be delayed. Henry having fpent the winter in raifing money by very illegal and oppressive methods, re-assembled his army in the fpring, and on the last day of April A.D. 1230., he embarked for France, and in a few days arrived at St. Malo's. The arrival of the English army revived the spirits of the malecontents in France; the Duke of Britanny joined the English, with all his forces; and every thing wore a promifing aspect. But all these blooming hopes were blafted by the misconduct of Henry, who fpent the whole campaign without any action of moment, in a continued course of expensive pleafures; fo that many of the poorer knights were obliged to fell their horses and arms to defray their expences. About the end of October, Henry returned to England, covered with difgrace.2

The hiftory of England for fome years after Fall of this, confifts of little elfe, but some court-in- Hubert de trigues, and violent contests for power, between the Bishop of Winchester and the high justiciary. The late miscarriages abroad had rendered the ministry of Hubert de Burgh exceedingly odious, both to the nobility and common people. King, who was naturally fickle, being teafed with continual complaints against his minister, began to withdraw his affection from him; which being A.D. 1232. observed by his enemies, they redoubled their

M. Paris, p. 249. 251, 252. Annal. Waverlien. p. 192. clamours

A.D. 1232. clamours against him, and at last wrought his downfall<sup>22</sup>. Hubert was removed from his place of high jufticiary, though it had been granted him for life; and he was commanded to give an account of the disposal of the revenues of the crown during his administration. The fallen minifter, perceiving his ruin was refolved upon, and even his life in danger, took fanctuary in the priory of Merton; from whence the King commanded the mayor of London to bring him either dead or alive. The mayor and citizens of London, to whom Hubert had always been peculiarly odious, were preparing to execute these orders with great pleafure, and had affembled to the number of twenty thousand for that purpose; when fome of the most prudent barons representing to the King the danger of fuch tumultuary proceedings, and of committing the execution of justice to an enraged mob, be recalled his orders. Hubert, some time after, having privately left his fanctuary to visit his wife, who was fifter to the King of Scots, was discovered and pursued by fome foldiers into a fmall church; from whence they dragged him; and having loaded him with infults and indignities, carried him to the tower of London. But the church interpoling, obliged the King to return him to his fanctuary; where he was fo strictly guarded, to prevent his escaping, or receiving any victuals, that he furrendered himself, and was once more lodged in the tower23.

When he was every moment expecting the worst A.D. 1232. effects of the malice of his enemies, the King's ' refentment began to cool, and he positively refused to consent to the death of a man who had adhered fo fleadily to his father and himfelf in their adversity. Hubert, after many various turns of fortune, at last recovered some degree of the King's favour; but wifely abstained from all concern in the administration of public affairs.24

Whatever were the faults of the late minister, A.D. 12339 the nation reaped no advantage from his fall. He Difconwas fucceeded by his great rival and enemy, Peter tents of de Roches, Bishop of Winchester, a man of a very barons, bold and enterprising spirit. This minister invited over many of his own countrymen from Poictou, on whom, by his perfuafion, Henry beflowed all offices of honour and profit, procured them the richest heiresses in marriage, and gave them the wardship of the richest of the royal wards 25. These foreigners, elated by prosperity and court-favour, treated the English nobility. with contempt. But the great barons were not of a temper to bear fuch treatment with patience: a number of them, with the Earl of Pembroke at their head, boldly remonstrated to the King against this preference given to foreigners before his own nobility. To this remonstrance the Bishop of Winchester, in the King's name, returned a haughty answer; with which the barons were so

<sup>24</sup> Chron. T. Wikes, p. 41, 42. Chron. Dunft. p. 220.

<sup>25</sup> Chron. Dunft, p. 151. M. Paris, p. 258.

A.D. 1233, much provoked, that they withdrew from court. The King foon after fummoning a parliament to meet at Oxford 24th June, A.D. 1233., the barons by concert refused to attend. Nor did they pay any greater regard to a fecond fummons, to meet July 11. at Westminster. They even went fo far as to fend the King a meffage, that if he did not immediately difmifs the Bishop of Winchester and the Poictivens from court, they would drive both him and them out of the kingdom, and place the crown on a worthier head 26. This daring language greatly alarmed the King and his minister; who, plainly seeing that the barons were formidable while they were united, laid a scheme to divide them; in which they were fuccessful. Richard Earl of Cornwall, the King's brother, together with the Earls of Chefter and Lincoln, being gained by the court, fo many deferted the confederacy that the Earl of Pembroke was almost left alone, to bear the weight of the royal indignation. That valiant nobleman, after defending himfelf very bravely for fome time. in England, was decoyed into Ireland, by a contrivance of the Bishop of Winchester, and there basely betrayed and murdered 27. Thus did that bold and cunning minister dislipate this formidable confederacy, and triumph over his enemies, by the most wicked arts.

doner

<sup>. 27</sup> Id. p. 263, 264, 265, &c. 26 M Paris, p. 265. Annal. Waverlien. p. 195. Chron. Dunft. p. 219.

But this triumph of the Bishop of Winchester A.D. 1234. was but of short duration. Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury represented to the King, in such of Peter strong and lively terms, the great injury which he de Roches, did to himself and his subjects, by placing such Winchesunbounded confidence in fo hated a minister, and terloading strangers with such unmerited honours, that Henry's eyes were opened; the Bishop of Winchester was commanded to retire to his diocese; the Poictivens were turned out of all their places; which were filled by Englishmen. The primate, by whose influence this change was brought about, had a great fway in the new administration; from which the people entertained the most fanguine hopes. 28

King Henry, who was now in his twenty-ninth A.D.1236. year, had been as unfortunate in love as in war, Henry's having paid his addresses to several ladies without and its fuccess. At last, however, in the beginning of the confeyear 1236., he was married to Eleanora, fecond quences. daughter to the Count of Provence; which marriage foon became the occasion of new disquiets29. The Queen was followed into Englandby many of her relations and countrymen, who became great favourites with Henry, who on all occasions discovered an extravagant fondness for strangers. William of Savoy, Bishop of Valence, the Queen's maternal uncle, became prime minister, and had the chief direction of all affairs 30. Peter de Savoy was made Earl of Richmond, and Boniface de Sa-

30 M. Paris, p. 296, &c. M. West. p. 338.

<sup>28</sup> M. Paris, p. 271, 272.

<sup>29</sup> Heming. p. 573. M. Paris, p. 276. Rymer, tom. 1. p. 448.

A.D. 1236. voy was raifed to the fee of Canterbury, and almost all other places of power and trust were again filled by foreigners. These proceedings did not fail to revive the discontents of the English barons; and the history of England for some years after the King's marriage confifts chiefly of the remonstrances of the English nobility against the foreign favourites, and their attempts to remove them from the King's presence and councils, and the arts of these favourites to maintain their ground. Whenever Henry was hard pressed and threatened, or stood in need of money from his parliament, he made the most folemn promises to dismiss all foreigners, and to govern only by the advice of his barons; but as foon as the danger was over, and his wants fupplied, he wantonly violated all his promifes. 31

A.D. 1238. Simon de · Montfort marries fifter.

Amongst other foreigners who at this time crowded the court of England, was Simon de Montfort, fecond fon of the famous Earl of Montthe King's fort, general of the croifade against the Albigenses. This young nobleman enjoyed fo great a degree of Henry's favour, that he ventured to pay his adresses to his fifter Eleanora, Countess-dowager of Pembroke, whom he married with the King's confent, and was created Earl of Leicester February 2., A.D. 1239.: for which great favours this nobleman did not make a very grateful return, as will appear from the feguel of this hiftory. 32

A.D. 1240. Expedition to the continent.

The person and government of Henry were now become exceedingly unpopular, by his incorrigible

31 M. Paris, p. 304. col. 2.

32 Id. 314.

attach-

attachment to foreigners, - his violation of the A.D. 1249. most folemn promises, - his many illegal and arbitrary exactions of money, - and the affiftance which he gave to the papal legates in the like exactions; - by all which the kingdom was oppressed and sleeced in the most intolerable manner. While Henry was on fuch ill terms with his fubjects at home, he very imprudently entered upon a foreign expedition. Ifabella, the Queen-mother of England, foon after the death of King John, married the Earl of Marche, to whom she had been betrothed in her youth. The estates of that earl lay in that part of Poictou which was subject to. France; and Lewis IX., having beflowed that country on his brother Alphonfo, to him he commanded the barons of these parts to pay homage. Queen Isabella perfuaded her husband to refuse this homage as below his dignity, to shake off his allegiance to France, and call in her fon the King of England to his protection. Henry accepted the invitation, and raifed an army, with which he invaded France, A.D. 1242. But this expedition was neither better conducted, nor more fuccefsful, than his former one into that country. Lewis foon reduced that part of Poictou which belonged to England, and obliged the Earl of Marcheto implore his mercy; and if that good King had not been restrained by scruples of conscience, he would have deprived Henry of his few remaining dominions on the continent 33. The King of Eng-

<sup>33</sup> M.Paris, p. 392, 393, &c. M.West. p. 306. Chron. Dunst. p. 153.

land, after buying a truce of five years with France, and expending an immense sum of money in this difgraceful expedition, returned to England in September A.D. 1243.; and in order to conceal his shame, he commanded all his military tenants to meet him at Portsmouth, and conduct him to London, in great pomp, as if he had returned victorious. 34

A.D. 1244. A parliament.

A government at once fo weak and fo profuse. could not fail to become daily more and more odious and contemptible. The King, whose prodigality rendered him always indigent, foon after his return fummoned a parliament to fupply his wants. The parliament, far from granting his requeft, being now fully convinced of his incapacity for government, formed a scheme to deprive him of the administration, and commit it to four great barons chosen by themselves: but by fuddenly diffolving the parliament, he prevented the execution of that scheme. 35

A.D. 1247. Arrival of the King's uterine brothers.

Still further to increase the miseries of the kingdom, and to render the King and his government, if possible, more odious, a new company of foreigners arrived A.D. 1247.36 These were three of the King's uterine brothers, fons of the Earl of Marche and Queen Isabella, who was now dead. These young noblemen, at their arrival, were extremely indigent. Henry received them with great kindness; and, without confidering either his own

Chron. T. Wikes, p.45. 34 M. Paris, p. 409.

<sup>35</sup> M. Paris, p. 432. 36 Id. p. 491. 495.

circumstances, or the discontents of his subjects, A.D.1247. made hafte to load them with wealth and honours 37. This continual profusion had now brought Henry into fuch straits, that, to pay some part of his debts, he was obliged to fell his jewels; which were purchased by the citizens of London<sup>38</sup>. He had broke his faith fo frequently to his parliaments, that it was now become customary with thefe great affemblies to answer all his demands of money with cutting reproaches for the violation of his promifes, his profusion to foreigners, and his other acts of male-administration. This obliged Henry to have recourse to many illegal and oppressive methods of raising money to supply his wants. In order to furnish a plausible pretence for these exactions, he assumed the sign of the cross in the year 1250., and declared his resolution to go in person into Palestine, at the head of an army, for the recovery of the Holy Land 39. To defray the expences of this expedition, he extorted money from the Jews, the clergy, the cities, the merchants, and, in a word, from all kind of perfons, by all kind of means; but having obtained the money, he talked no more of the expedition. Notwithstanding all these expedients for raising money, fuch was the infatiable avarice of those foreign harpies with whom Henry was furrounded, that he was thereby reduced to fuch ftraits as to fay, that alms given to him were more charitably bestowed than on the wretch who begged from

<sup>37</sup> Knyghton, col. 2436. 33 M. Paris, p. 501.

<sup>39</sup> Id. p. 518. M. West. p. 338. Chron, Dunst. p. 293.

A.D. 1247. " door to door 40." Nay (if we may believe a contemporary historian), the officers of the King's household acted the part of common robbers and highwaymen, with the knowledge of their royal mafter, who shared in their booty.

A.D. 1252. Quarrel between Henry and Leicester.

The province of Gascony, in France, still belonged to the crown of England; but feveral barons in that province had rebelled against the the Earl of English government, and Henry had sent his brother-in-law Simon de Montfort Earl of Leicester with an army to quell thefe rebellious barons. Montfort fucceeded in his defign, and reduced the revolted barons; but exercifed fuch feverity in his government, that the whole inhabitants of Gafcony were exasperated against him, and sent commissioners over to England, who accused him of many acts of oppression. Henry received these commissioners very favourably, and plainly difcovered his wishes that Montfort might be found guilty. This obliged the Earl to have recourse to the discontented barons; among whom he made so powerful a party, that when he came to his trial he was acquitted by his peers, in spite of all the Gascon commissioners, and the Kinghimself, could fay against him. Henry was so much enraged at this, that, forgetting the dignity of his character, he loaded the Earl with opprobrious language, calling him a villain and a traitor. Montfort naturally proud and paffionate, flarting up in a violent rage, told the King he lied. Such were the fierce and rude manners of those times, and so much

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was majefty degraded by the weakness of this A.D. 1252. prince! This outrageous affront, however, made fo deep an impression on the King's mind, that he was never cordially reconciled to the Earl. 4t

difgraceful methods of raifing money, which he The charhad used, were quite insufficient to supply his firmed wants, resolved again to make trial of a parlia- with great ment; and one was fummoned to meet at Westminster on the 5th of April, A.D. 1253. The King laid an account of his necessities before this affembly; and further informed them, that he defigned to fet out as foon as possible for the Holy Land, and earneftly intreated them to grant him fuch a fupply as would enable him to accomplish that pious defign. In order to obviate their usual reproaches, and to gain their confent, he made many acknowledgments of his former errors, and

gave them the strongest affurances, that he would govern for the future according to their wifhes, and would confirm the charters of their liberties in any manner they pleafed. Though the parliament was by no means convinced of his fincerity, yet, after fome deliberation, they wifely refolved

to make one further trial, by taking him at his word; and agreed to grant him a tenth of all ecclefiaftical revenues for three years, and a fcutage of three shillings on every knight's fee, on his confirming the charters with fuch awful folemnities as might be deemed inviolable; to which the King confented. According to this agreement, the

Henry finding that all the violent, illegal, and A.D. 1253. folemnity.

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M. Paris, p. 507. 513. 559, 560.

A.D. 1253. King, with the whole parliament, met, on the 4th of May, in the great hall at Westminster, the prelates and clergy in their robes, with each a lighted taper in his hand. The great charter, and charter of the forests, were read aloud to this august assembly; and then a sentence of excommunication, containing the most tremendous curfes and denunciations of the divine wrath against all who should violate, or confent to the violation of these charters, in any particular, was pronounced; at the conclusion of which, the prelates and clergy threw their tapers on the ground, crying with one voice, " So may every " one be extinguished, and stink in hell, who shall " incur this fentence." To which the King, laying his right hand upon his heart, replied, "So " help me God, as I shall faithfully observe all "these articles, as I am a man, as I am a Christian, "as I am a knight, and as I am a crowned, " anointed king." These obligations, it must be confessed, were as solemn and awful as could well be devifed; but they were very foon violated by this faithless and misguided prince. 42

A.D. 1254. Expedition into Gascony.

The divelting Montfort Earl of Leicester of his command in Gascony, which followed soon after the violent quarrel above related, was attended with very ill effects. The Gafcon barons, no longer overawed by that brave and active governor, became more and more turbulent; and even invited the King of Castile to take possession of their country, who pretended to have got a grant of it from

<sup>42</sup> M. Paris, p. 580. Annal. Burt. 323. M. Westmonst. p. 254.

Henry II. The Castilian, in conjunction with the A.D. 1254. difaffected barons, reduced feveral places, and threatened the reduction of the whole province. But Henry, being now reconciled to his English fubjects by his late folemn confirmation of their charters, found himself in a capacity to undertake an expedition into Gascony 43. Accordingly he fummoned all his military tenants to meet him in June at Portsmouth; and on the 15th of August he arrived at Bourdeaux with a gallant army, which foon recovered all the places which had been loft, and obliged the King of Castile to make a formal renunciation of all his pretentions to Gasconv. The reconciliation between the two courts was fo complete, that a marriage was concluded between Edward Prince of England and Eleanor Princess of Castile.

But Henry, who delighted much in low disho- Henry enneft cunning, carefully concealed all this, and fent deavours over his commands to the Queen, and his brother his parthe Earl of Cornwall, regents of England, to call liament. a parliament, and demand a supply for carrying on the war. A parliament was accordingly affembled on 27th January A.D. 1254.; but, having got fome hint of the pacification, refused to grant any money until Gascony was actually invaded. Henry not fatisfied with this denial, commanded the regents to reassemble the parliament fifteen days after Easter. But the Earl of Leicester re-

to deceive

<sup>43</sup> M. Paris, p. 581. M. Westmonst. p. 256. Rymeri Foedera, t. I. p. 505.

A.D.1254.

turned from Gascony before that time, and having made a full discovery of the state of affairs there, the parliament returned the same answer to this second demand; and all Henry's dishonourable arts to impose upon his people served only to revive their former distrust of him, and contempt for him. 44

Henry returns to England. Lewis King of France having this year returned from his unfortunate expedition into the Holy Land, Henry applied to him for leave to pass through France in his way to England. This favour was readily granted; and Henry, with all his numerous court and retinue, were magnificently entertained for some time at Paris; and all possible honours were paid him in all places through which he passed. So much time was spent in this journey, that Henry did not arrive in England till the beginning of the year 1255. 45

A.D. 1255. The Pope offers the crown of Sicily to Henry's fecond fon. The Pope, who still acted as superior lord of England, had contributed very much, by the great authority he possessed, and the terror of his spiritual thunders, to support Henry in all his illegal exactions, and to prevent the discontented barons from proceeding to extremities. But his holiness about this time led his royal vassal of England into an affair which involved him in great expence and trouble, by making him an offer of the crown of Sicily for his second son Prince Edmond. 46 The Pope pretended to dis-

<sup>44</sup> M. Paris, p. 592. 594.

<sup>46</sup> Rymer, vol. 1. p. 512, &c.

<sup>45</sup> Id. p. 600.

pose of that crown, both as superior lord of Si- A.D. 1255. cily, and as vicar of Jesus Christ, to whom all the kingdoms of the earth belonged. He had offered this dangerous present to Richard Earl of Cornwall, the King's brother, who wifely declined the offer; but Henry, not so cautious, accepted of it; and his fon was styled King of Sicily. This crown however was to be won before it could be worn. In order to this, Henry gave His Holiness an unlimited credit, to employ what fums of money he pleafed in wrefting the crown from Mainfroy, who was in possession of it, engaging to reimburse him 47. The Pope, glad of an opportunity of making war on his mortal enemy Mainfroy at another's coft, spared no expence; and in a little time the unwary Henry found himfelf loaded with an immense debt of 250,000l. 48

The fituation of this prince, on this occasion, A parliawas truly perplexing: if he refused to pay this ment. debt, befides lofing all hopes of the crown of Sicily, he would incur the indignation of the Pope, whose favour was his greatest support; if he attempted to pay it, he must have recourse to new and greater acts of oppression, which might be dangerous. To extricate himself out of these difficulties, he refolved to call a parliament: but in doing this he used a piece of craft which defeated its own end. He summoned only such barons as he hoped would comply with his defires, fending no writs to fuch as he ap-

<sup>47</sup> M. Paris, p. 599.

<sup>48</sup> Rymer, vol. 1. p. 587, &c. M. Paris, p. 617.

A.D. 1255. prehended would be refractory. This parliament met on the 18th October, A.D. 1255.; and when the King laid before them a reprefentation of his necessities, and requested a supply, they made answer, that they could grant no money without the confent of the absent barons, who had not been fummoned. 49

Henry and the Pope oppress the clergy.

The church was now Henry's great refource for money; and by the affiftance of papal authority he squeezed the clergy without mercy. The Pope, by virtue of the plentitude of his apostolical power, granted the King, by feveral bulls, the goods of all clergymen who died intestate; the revenues of all vacant benefices, and of all nonrefidents: he published a croifade against Mainfroy, whom he represented as a greater enemy to the Christian faith than any Saracen 50: he commanded all the money which had been granted by the English parliament for an expedition into the Holy Land to be employed in the conquest of Sicily; he released Henry and all others who had taken the crofs or promifed money, for the holy war, from their vows, on condition of their engaging in person in the war against Mainfroy, or advancing money for its support. It would be endless to enumerate all the arts which the Pope and King employed at this time to extort money from the people, especially from the clergy of England; but one of these arts was too remarkable for the villainy and impudence of it to be omitted. Walleran Bishop of Hereford, a crea-

<sup>49</sup> M. Paris, p. 614.

<sup>50</sup> Rymer, vol. 1. p. 568. 593.

ture of the Pope, who refided at Rome as an A.D. 12556 agent for the church of England, drew bills of different values on all the bishops, abbots, and confiderable clergymen of the kingdom, amounting on the whole to 150,540 marks: an immense fum in those days! These bills were granted to Italian merchants; who, it was pretended, had advanced the money contained in them, for the Sicilian war, 51

clergy.

When this exorbitant demand was first notified Resistance to the English clergy, they were filled with aftonishment and indignation, and some of them declared their resolution to suffer any extremity rather than comply with it. They were threatened with deprivation; and one of the bishops had the boldness to fav, that if they took his mitre from his head, he would fupply its place with a helmet 52. Yet, with such union and perseverance did the Pope and King urge their demand, that the clergy, after a long and spirited resistance, were constrained to submit to this intolerable imposition. 53

Though Richard Earl of Cornwall was of a A.D.1257. very different character from the King his bro- Richard thers, being as remarkable for amaffing money as Cornwall the other was for fquandering it; yet at last his chosen ambition got the better of his prudence, and he embarked in an affair which proved as chimerical mans. and expensive as that of Sicily. The imperial throne being vacant, some of the electors cast

Earl of the Ro-

<sup>51</sup> Rymeri Fædera, t. 1. p. 595.

<sup>. 52</sup> M. Paris, p. 615, 616.

A.D. 1257, their eyes on Earl Richard, or rather on his riches, and he was chosen King of the Romans, and a deputation fent to invite him to come and take possession of that dignity. Richard, dazzled with the luftre of the Imperial crown, after some hesitation, accepted of the invitation; and in April A.D. 1257., he departed from England with a noble train of forty English gentlemen, and carried with him, if we may believe Matthew Paris, a contemporary historian, no less a sum of money than feven hundred thousand marks, equal in value and efficacy to eight millions of our money at prefent 54. But this prince, on his arrival in Germany, found that he had a powerful rival for the Imperial throne, in Alphonfo King of Castile; and expended all the money he carried with him, besides several remittances from England, without obtaining any thing in return but the empty title of King of the Romans.

Fatal confequences of the departure of Earl Richard.

Rehmbo chosen

Sing of

the Ro-. CHICATE

A.D. 1258. The departure of Earl Richard from England at this time was very fatal both to his country and his family: to his country, by draining it of fuch a prodigious mass of treasure, the want of which was very feverely felt; to his family, by depriving it of the support of the first prince of the blood, the richest and most powerful subject in Europe. For though Richard had often joined the discontented barons, in their remonstrances against the illegal and arbitrary measures of Henry's government; yet whenever the barons attempted to go

too far, and to deprive the crown of its just pre- A.D. 1258. rogatives, he always deferted them, and put a ftop to their proceedings. But as foon as the throne was deprived of this great support, the barons made bold attacks upon it; and the mifguided prince foon furnished them with a favourable opportunity.

Henry, still deluded by the Pope, continued to A parliaprofecute the ridiculous defign of conquering Si- ment. cily, called a parliament, and demanded fupplies for that purpofe. Never was any demand more imprudent or unfeafonable. It furnished the Earl of Leicester, and the other discontented barons, with the fairest occasion of reproaching Henry with all the errors and abuses of his government; which they did in the ftrongeft terms, concluding with a folemn declaration, that they were determined no longer to rely on his oaths and promifes, which had been fo often violated, but were refolved immediately to drive all foreigners from his court and prefence, and to have the adminiftration put into fuch hands as they could depend upon. In fine, they proposed, that twenty-four perfons should be chosen, twelve from the King's council, and twelve from their own number, to whom full powers should be given to reform all the abuses in the government, and to make such regulations as should effectually prevent the return of fuch abuses. The King, intimidated by the determined air and martial appearance of the barons, who came into the parliament-hall in complete armour, confented to every thing proposed:

A.D. 1258. posed; and another meeting was approinted to bring this new model of government to perfection. 55

The provisions of Oxford.

Accordingly, on the 11th June A. D. 1258. that famous affembly, afterwards called the mad parliament, met at Oxford. The barons came attended with fuch an armed force as rendered any opposition from the court impracticable. According to agreement, twelve barons were chosen by the King's council, and twelve by the parliament; to whom was given an absolute authority, unlimited both as to time and power, to reform the ftate, and make what regulations they thought fit, for the future government of the kingdom; in a word, into their hands was committed the whole legislative and executive power: and the King himfelf, his eldeft fon Prince Edward, and all persons in all stations, took a solemn oath to observe and obey all regulations, which should be made by these twenty-four barons 56. As the Earl of Leicester was the most considerable person in this junto, for riches, power, eloquence, boldness, and popularity, they acted chiefly by his direction and advice. Their first transactions bore a specious appearance of a real regard to the public good. They ordained, that three fessions of parliament should be held every year, in the months of February, June, and October 57: - That four knights should be chosen in each county, to

57 Ann. Burt. p.415.

<sup>55</sup> M. Paris, p. 653.

<sup>56</sup> Rymer, vol. 1. p.655. Chron. Dunft. p. 334.

enquire into the peculiar grievances of that A.D. 1258. county, and lay the same before each meeting of parliament; and that the expences of these knights in the performance of that fervice should be borne by their county; - That a new high sheriff should be elected every year, by the votes of the freeholders in each county: - That none of the royal wards should be committed to the custody of foreigners:-That no new forests or warrensshould be created: - and, that the revenues of counties should not be let to farm. Such were the first regulations (commonly called the Provisions of Oxford) which were made by the twenty-four barons 53.

If these barons had proceeded in the same mo- A.D. 1259. derate and equitable course, and made all proper Violations hafte to finish the work of reformation, there fittution. would have been no great reason to complain of their abuse of the unlimited authority with which they had been intrusted. But their subsequent proceedings discovered a very interested spirit, and indicated an intention to perpetuate their own power, and turn it to their own private advantage. They got into their possession all the royal caftles, which they either kept in their own hands, or committed to the custody of their creatures. They turned out all the great officers of state, and of the King's household, to make room for themselves and their dependents. They enriched themselves and their families, by the royal escheats and wardships: In a word, the twenty-four barons engroffed the whole power, and a great part

<sup>58</sup> Rymeri Fædera, p.660, &c. Annal. Burton, p.414, &c.

A.D.1259. of the revenues of the crown; the King was a mere pageant of state, without the least shadow of authority, and the English constitution was entirely changed from a monarchy to an ariftocracy, or rather an oligarchy. 59

Prince Edward, &c. obliged to fubmit.

Prince Edward, the King's uterine brothers, the Queen's relations, and fome of the English barons, made fome opposition to all these prodigious changes; particularly to the oath of unlimited submission to all the ordinances of the twenty-four barons, made and to be made; and to the furrender of the royal castles: but the torrent ran fo ftrong, that all opposition was in vain. and they were obliged to fubmit. 60

The King's uterine brothers flee.

The foreign favourites, against whom Leicester, himself a foreigner, denounced the most terrible threatenings, feeing the King no longer able to protect them, betook themselves to flight and escaped out of the kingdom. 61 Even the King of the Romans, who paid a vifit to his native country, A.D. 1259., was not allowed to fet his foot in England, until he had folemnly engaged to take the oath of fubmission, and comply with all these changes. 62 With fuch a high hand did the twenty-four barons exert their unlimited authority, that the Pope himfelf, who made nothing of dethroning emperors, though greatly exasperated against them on many accounts, was obliged to fmother his refentment.

T. Wykes. p.53. T. Wykes, 59 Ann. Burt. p. 413. 61 M. Paris, p. 660. Ann. Burt. p. 441. p. 53. Ann. Burt. p. 411. 62 T. Wykes, p. 53.

The twenty-four barons, however, did not long A.D. 1261. enjoy their exorbitant power in peace. They had loft much of their popularity by their arbitrary proceedings; they were often called upon, both come unby king and people, to finish the intended reformation, that they might lay down their commission; but they made no haste to comply with these calls; and some trifling regulations which they published gave little satisfaction. 63 But what was most fatal to their power and interest, was fome fecret jealousies and disputes which arose amongst themselves, particularly between the two powerful Earls of Leicester and Gloucester. the latter alleging, that the former affumed too great a share of authority, and acted many things without confulting his colleagues. 4

barons bepopular.

The King, who bore with great impatience the A.D. 1262. state of infignificancy to which he was reduced. The King hearing of these circumstances, began to entertain hopes of recovering his former authority, and his authoformed a scheme for that purpose. But this, like many other schemes of that prince, was ill-concerted and unfeafonable; his fon, Prince Edward, and his brother, the King of the Romans, who were most able to support him, being both out of the kingdom. Henry, however, having taken his refolution, came unexpectedly into parliament, which was held at London April 23. A. D. 1262., and reproaching the twenty-four barons with the breach of their promifes to him, and the many abuses of their power, declared that he would no

endeavours to recover

64 Chron. Dunft. p. 348.

<sup>63</sup> Trivit. p. 209. Ann. Burt. p. 428-439.

A.D.1262. longer pay any regard to the provisions of Oxford, but would immediately refume the exercise of his royal authority 65. Having made this bold declaration, he retired to the Tower, whose governor he had gained, feized a confiderable treafure which was deposited there, and from thence, by proclamation, turned out all the great officers, judges, and sheriffs, which had been nominated by the twenty-four barons, and put others in their room. 66 This occasioned infinite confusion in the kingdom; fome obeying the officers and magistrates nominated by the King, and others obeying those nominated by the barons; and many paying no regard to any magistracy, but living as if all government had been diffolved.

Dispute between Henry and the barons compromifed.

The twenty-four barons, and their party, were prodigiously astonished at these proceedings of the King, of which they had received no previous notice. But after their first surprise was over, they began to confult what was necessary to be done for their own preservation, and that of their authority. In order to this, they refolved to bury all their private quarrels and animofities in oblivion; and the Earls of Leicester and Gloucefter were reconciled: they bound themselves anew, by the most folemn oaths, to stand by one another, and support the provisions of Oxford with their lives and fortunes. Strengthened by this union among themselves, the twentyfour barons began to talk and act with their former authority. They fent the King a message,

requiring him to recal his late declaration, and A.D. 1262. fubmit to the provisions of Oxford, declaring, that if he did not comply, they would compel him to it by force of arms 67. When things were in this strange unsettled state, Prince Edward and the King of the Romans arrived in England. The Prince, very much to his own honour, but to the great surprise and disappointment of his father, declared, that though he had taken the oath of fubmission to the Oxford provisions, much against his will, yet he thought himself bound to observe that oath 68. The King of the Romans offering his mediation, it was accepted by both parties; and an agreement was brought about on the following terms: That Henry should once more submit to the provisions of Oxford; and that the barons should change and mitigate certain articles which were most displeasing to the King. But the Earl of Leicester refused to fign this agreement, declaring, that he could no longer rely on any promifes of a prince who had fo often violated his most folemn oaths; and he retired into France in great discontent. By this pacification, however, some degree of order and tranquillity was reftored to the diffracted kingdom, 69

Henry imprudently trufting to this appearance A.D. 1263. of tranquillity, or more probably in order to avoid Pacificafulfilling his part of the late treaty, haftened over tion. to Bourdeaux, to fettle, as he pretended, fome affairs in Guienne 7°. The barons, displeased that

<sup>67</sup> M. Paris, p. 667. -7º M. West. p. 381.

<sup>68</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>69</sup> T. Wykes, p. 57.

A.D. 1263, the King had left the kingdom without confirming the Oxford provisions, were greatly incenfed at his endless prevarications; and the Earl of Leicefter, returning from France, to effectually inflamed them, that they became more united, and more determined to proceed to extremities, than ever. As foon as the King returned from Guienne, the barons addressed him in a body, demanding the immediate confirmation of the provisions of Oxford. But Henry having overcome the scruples of his fon Prince Edward, and depending on the affiftance of his brother, and some other barons, returned a rough answer to this demand; and even went fo far as to call them rebels, and threatened them with the severest punishments. This answer was more than sufficient to drive the barons to extremities: they immediately flew to arms; and chufing the Earl of Leicester for their general, they destroyed the lands of the King and his adherents, put to death all foreigners that fell in their way, and took feveral cities, before the King had any troops ready to oppose them 71. This brought Henry once more to confent to any. terms the barons thought fit to prescribe; and a fecond pacification was made on the following conditions: 1. That all the King's castles should be delivered to the barons. 2. That the provisions of Oxford should be inviolably observed. 3. That all foreigners should be banished. 4. That the administration of affairs should be committed to fuch as the barons pleafed. 72

<sup>71</sup> Trivit. p. 211. M. West. p. 382.

<sup>22.</sup> Chron. Dunft. p. 358. M. Paris, p. 668, 669.

Another

But this pacification was no better observed than A.D. 1263. the former; and the whole year 1263 was spent in alternate truces and hostilities between the King pacificaand the barons. The citizens of London having in general embraced the party of the barons with the most ardent zeal, the mob of that city insulted the Queen, as fhe was upon the river in her barge, with the most opprobrious language; and even put her in fear of her life, by throwing at her dirt and flones 73. Prince Edward was befieged in the castle of Bristol by the inhabitants of that city; and having got from thence by stratagem, he was again befieged by the barons in Windfor caftle; and being taken prisoner in a conference with the Earl of Leicester, he was obliged to purchase his liberty by the furrender of the castle 74. These, and fome other unfavourable events, again difcouraged the King, and obliged him to fubmit to more difadvantageous terms than any he had yet vielded to, in order to obtain a ceffation of hoftilities. A pacification was accordingly concluded, on the 18th of July A.D. 1263., by which the authority of the twenty-four barons was to continue, not only during the reign of the prefent King but even during that of his fuccesfor. 75

This last condition, as might be expected, was A.D. 1264. very displeasing to Prince Edward; who, exerting himself with great vigour, gained over to the royal Henry and party feveral great barons, who either envied the

Disputes between the barons referred to

<sup>73</sup> T. Wykes. p. 57. M. Paris, p. 668.

<sup>25</sup> M. West. 383. 74 Trivit, p. 213.

France.

A.D. 1264. authority, or difliked the violence, of the twentythe King of four. This brought the two parties much nearer to an equality than they had been, and made them both readily agree to refer all their differences to Lewis IX. King of France, a prince universally admired for his great wisdom and virtue. This reference being ratified by the oaths and fubfcriptions of all the great men in both parties, Lewisundertook the honourable and friendly office of umpire, and fummoned the states of France to meet at Amiens on the 23d of January, A. D. 1264. in order to examine the merits of this great cause in their presence; and on the 3d of February he pronounced this equitable award: That the provisions of Oxford, being destructive of the royal authority, and subversive of the ancient constitution, should be annulled, and the King restored to the possession of all his castles, lands, and revenues; to the nomination of the great officers of flate, and of his household; and, in general, to all the royal rights and prerogatives which he had enjoyed before the meeting of the parliament of Oxford. On the other hand, he decreed, That a general amnesty should be granted to all the fubjects of England, for all past offences; and that they should be maintained in the full enjoyment of all liberties and privileges which had been granted to them by any former charters. 76

War between Henry and the barons.

As foon as this award was notified to the Earl of Leicester and his party, they rejected it with dif-

<sup>76</sup> Rymer, vol. 1. p. 776, 777, 778. M. West, p. 383.

dain; affirming, that the one part of it was a con- A.D. 1264. tradiction to the other; and that it was impossible the liberties of England granted by the charters could be maintained, without the provisions of Oxford 77. It now appeared evident to all the world, that this great quarrel could be decided only by the fword; and therefore both parties prepared for war with great eagerness. The Earl of Leicester continued in London, the zeal and wealth of whose citizens was the great support of his party, and fent his fons and partizans into all parts of England to raife forces. The King fummoned his military tenants, and the barons of his party, from all quarters, and foon found himfelf at the head of a numerous and gallant army 78. The royal arms were at first successful, having taken Northampton by affault on the 5th April. Simon de Montfort, one of Leicester's sons, with fome other barons, and the whole garrison, were made prisoners; and Leicester and Nottingham opened their gates to Prince Edward 79. On the other hand, the Earl of Leicester formed the siege of Rochester, in which the Earl of Warrenne, and feveral other barons of the royal party, had taken fhelter 89. The King and Prince, hearing of their danger, haftened to their relief; and Leicester, at their approach, raifed the fiege, and retired with his army to London.

Herehaving received a powerful reinforcement Battle of of fifteen thousand of the most zealous citizens, Lewes.

<sup>77</sup> Chron. Dunst. p. 363.

<sup>79</sup> T. Wykes, p. 60.

<sup>78</sup> Rym. t.1. p. 772.

<sup>80</sup> Id. p.61.

A.D. 1264. he thought himfelf fufficiently strong to meet the royalists in the field 81. Leaving London, therefore, he directed his march towards Lewes in Suffex, where the King and Prince, with their army, lay encamped. At this place, on the 14th of May A.D. 1264., was fought the famous and decifive battle of Lewes. The royal army was divided into three bodies, the van commanded by Prince Edward, the main body commanded by the King of the Romans and his fon Henry, and the rear by the King in person, assisted by some of the chief barons of his party 82. The other army was divided into four bodies, the van, confifting entirely of Londoners, commanded by Nicolas de Segrave, the main body commanded by the Earl of Leicester in person, and two bodies of referve, the one commanded by the Earl of Gloucester, and the other by Henry and Guy de Montfort, two of Leicester's sons. In the beginning of the action, victory declared for the royalifts. Prince Edward made fo furious an attack upon the Londoners, that he put them to flight; and, transported by his youthful ardour, and the refentment of the many injuries they had heaped upon his family, purfued them four miles with great eagerness and slaughter 83. Leicester, taking advantage of the great error the Prince had committed, led on the bodies commanded by himfelf,

<sup>81</sup> M. West. p. 386.

<sup>82</sup> M. West. p. 387. T. Wykes, p. 63.

<sup>83</sup> Hemming, p. 583. M. Paris, p. 670, 671.

by Gloucester, and by his fons, against the main A.D. 1264. body of the royalifts, which was defeated with ' great flaughter, and the King of the Romans, who commanded it, taken prifoner; and foon after King Henry shared the same fate, the rear of his army, where he was, being also defeated, and purfued into the town of Lewes. 84

of Lewes;

Prince Edward at last returning from the pur- The Mife fuit of the Londoners, to his infinite furprise and grief, found the day entirely loft, and heard that the two kings, his father and uncle, with many of the chief barons of the party, were prisoners. He endeavoured to perfuade the forces he had about him, to renew the battle while the victors were in fome confusion; but they were too much confounded and dispirited to listen to his persuafions; and the artful Leicester, fearing some attempt of that kind, amused the Prince with proposals for an accommodation s. In the mean time the Earl was bufy in fecuring his royal prifoners, and rallying his troops, with which he furrounded the Prince on all hands. Edward, finding that there was hardly a possibility left for his escape, was obliged to submit to these hard conditions: That the provisions of Oxford should be confirmed and executed; and that the Prince, and his cousin Henry, son to the King of the Romans, should furrender themselves prisoners, and remain as hoftages for their respective fathers, in

A.D.1264. the hands of Leicester and the barons, untill all things were completely settled. 86

Violated by Leicester.

This treaty is commonly known in the English history by the name of the Mise of Lewes; in confequence of which, Prince Edward, and his cousin Henry, immediately furrendered themfelves to Leicester, who fent them under a strong guard to Dover caftle. As the great defign of Leicester and the barons in making the mife or agreement of Lewes, was to get Prince Edward into their hands, who was the chief object of their fears, and of the hopes of the royal party, as foon as they had accomplished this end, they paid no further regard to that agreement. The two kings who should have been fet at liberty by that treaty, were still prisoners in effect, being surrounded by fuch only as were entirely devoted to Leicester; who made the unfortunate Henry fend orders to all the governors of his caftles to furrender them to the barons; and made use of the King as an instrument of destroying the royal authority, and advancing his own, and that of his party. 87

Avarice and ambition of Leicester. The Earl of Leicester having got the chief perfons of the royal family, and the whole royal authority, into his hands, became wanton with prosperity, and gave full scope to his two ruling passions, avarice and ambition. To gratify the former, he seized the estates of eighteen barons of the royal party, and appropriated to himself

<sup>86</sup> M. Paris, p. 671. Knyghton, col. 2451. T. Wykes, p. 63.

<sup>87</sup> Rymer, vol. 1. p. 790, &c.

the greatest part of the money arising from the A.D. 1264. ranfom of the prisoners which had been taken at the battle of Lewes; and took many other oppreffive and dishonourable methods to fill his coffers 88. To fatisfy his ambition, he contrived a new plan of government by which the royal authority was committed to three persons, viz. himself, the Earl of Gloucester, and the Bishop of Chichester; and as the Bishop was entirely under his influence, he in reality had the supreme direction of all public affairs. 99

Such immense wealth and exorbitant power in Effects of any fubject could not fail to excite envy; and the Leicester's natural haughtiness of Leicester, increased by his great good fortune, rendered his exaltation still more offensive and invidious. He was generally fuspected, and even openly accused, of aspiring to the throne. The fallen and defolate flate of the royal family, not only increased the tenderness and affection of their own party, but began to awaken compassion in the breasts of many who had contributed to their fall. The Earl of Gloucefter, in particular, feeing himfelf fo much eclipfed by his all-grafping and too powerful affociate, fecretly conspired his ruin. 90

The Earl of Leicester was too quick-fighted A.D. 1265. not to difcern the existence, and dread the confe- Parliaquences, of these increasing discontents, which

ment.

<sup>88</sup> T. Wykes, p. 63. M. Paris. p. 671.

<sup>59</sup> Brady's Appendix, No. 213. Rymeri Fædera, t. 1. p. 693, &c.

<sup>90</sup> M.Paris. p. 671.

A.D. 1265. prevailed chiefly among the better fort. In order to diminish this odium under which he had fallen, he put on an appearance of moderation, and called a parliament, in order, as he pretended, to fet Prince Edward at liberty. To this famous parliament were fummoned not only the great barons, but every fhire was ordered to fend two knights, every city two citizens, and every burgh two burgesses, as their representatives. This parliament affembled 28th January A.D. 1265., and, by the persuasion of the Earl of Leicester, made a decree to set Prince Edward at liberty, but at the same time commanding that he should remain near the person of the King his father. The Prince was accordingly brought from Dover castle, and delivered to his father; but as the King was in reality a prisoner in the hands of Leicester, the Prince was guarded with the most jealous care, and soon found that he was still a prisoner, only a little more at large 92. This groß imposition rather increased than diminished the hatred and jealoufy of the public against Leicester. The Earl of Gloucester, not daring to trust his person within the reach of his daring and powerful rival, retired to his estate. repaired and garrifoned his caftles, and made all possible preparations for his own defence. 93

Prince Edward makes his escape.

Leicester, determined to crush the Earl of Gloucester and his adherents, proclaimed them

traitors

<sup>92</sup> Annal. Waverlien. p.216. 91 Rymer, vol. 1. p. 802. 93 T. Wykes, p. 66. M. Paris, p. 671. Annal. Waverlien. p. 216.

traitors in the King's name, raifed an army, and A.D. 1265. marched towards them, carrying the King and Prince with him. As the two armies drew near to one another, the Earl of Gloucester formed a scheme for the deliverance of Prince Edward out. of the hands of Leicester; he even found means of communicating this scheme to the Prince, and of getting a horse of extraordinary fleetness conveyed to him. The Prince, in confequence of this concert, feigned himself indisposed for some days; and then pretending to recover, he proposed to take an airing on horseback, for the benefit of his health. Leicester suspecting nothing, and trufting to the fidelity and vigilance of the gentlemen he had placed about the Prince's person, made no opposition. As the Prince and his company, or rather guards, were riding along, he artfully proposed running matches between the feveral gentlemen who were best mounted; while he himself, as hardly recovered from his indispofition, moved gently along, on the horse conveyed to him by the Earl of Gloucester. At length, when he observed the horses of his attendants sufficiently blown by their diversion, the Prince, suddenly clapping fours to his horse, rode off at full speed. As foon as his attendants recovered from their furprife, they purfued him till they faw the Prince received by a party of horse, which had been fent to favour his escape. 94.

A.D. 1265. Prince Edward at the head of an army.

This fortunate escape of Prince Edward gave incredible joy to all the friends of the royal family; who flew to arms, and hastened to his standard; and being joined by the Earl of Gloucester, Roger Mortimer, and the barons of these parts, he foon found himfelf at the head of a very gallant army 95. At the defire of the Earl of Glou-- cefter, the Prince made a folemn declaration to the army, that if God should grant him victory, he would perfuade the King his father to banish all foreigners, to preferve the liberties, and govern according to the laws of England. This declaration inspired his army with the warmest attachment to his person, and the most ardent zeal for the royal cause. 96

Battles of Kennelworth and Everham.

Though Leicester was greatly astonished at the Prince's escape, he was not wanting to himself, but took every measure he could think of for his own prefervation. Having the King still in his hands, he obliged that unhappy prince to iffue a proclamation, declaring his fon Prince Edward, the Earl of Gloucester, and all their adherents. traitors, and forbidding his fubjects to give them any affiftance 97. He wrote to his eldeft fon, Simon de Montfort, to make all possible haste to join him with an army from London. But this junction never took effect; for Prince Edward. making forced marches, furprifed young Montfort

<sup>95</sup> T. Wykes, p. 68. 95 Id. ibid.

<sup>97</sup> Brady's Appendix, No. 221, 222. Rymeri Fædera, t. 1. p. 810, 811, 812, &c.

and his army at Kennelworth, and cut the greatest A.D. 1265. part of them in pieces, on the ift of August, A.D. 1265. 98. The Prince, without losing a moment's time, turned about and directed his march towards the Severn, in order to meet and attack old Montfort, before he heard of his fon's defeat. Leicester had passed the Severn, and was advanced as far as Evesham, expecting every moment to be joined by his fon with his army from London, of whose misfortune he had received no information. Prince Edward commanded one part of his army to approach Evefham by the road from Kennelworth, displaying the banners which had been taken from young Montfort's army; and the Earl of Liecester's spies, deceived by that appearance, brought him word, that his fon, with his army, was at hand. But the Earl did not long enjoy the pleafure of this mistake; for he soon difcovered with his own eyes, that they were enemies who advanced; and observing their great numbers, and excellent order, he had a prefage of his approaching fate; which made him cry out, "God have mercy on our fouls; for our bodies " are Prince Edward's 99." The armies foon engaged, and, being animated by the example of their valiant leaders, fought with uncommon fury. In the heat of the action, King Henry was wounded, and in great danger of being flain by a foldier of his fon's army; but crying out, " I

<sup>98</sup> T.Wykes, p.69. M.Paris, p.672. Annal. Waverlien. p.219.

<sup>.</sup> W. Hemming, p. 586. M. Paris, p. 672.

A.D. 1265, " am Henry of Winchester, thy sovereign; don't "kill me," he was known, and conducted to a place of fafety 100. The Welsh troops in Leicester's army were the first who turned their backs; but even after their flight, his other forces for fome time maintained their ground, until the Earl himself, and his fon Henry Montfort, were flain; which put an end to the fierce dispute: and Prince Edward obtained a most glorious and complete victory near Evesham, on the 4th August A.D. 1265. Besides the Earl of Leicefter and his fon Henry, many other barons of that party were killed; Guy de Montfort, another of Leicester's fons, and several other barons, were taken prisoners. 101

Character of the Earl of Leicefter.

Thus fell Simon de Montfort the great Earl of Leicester, who raised himself to a degree of greatness hardly inferior to royalty, and of wealth superior to that of some of our monarchs. Nothing is more difficult than to form a just idea of the real character of this illustrious person, who was abhorred as a devil by one half of England, and adored as a faint and guardian angel by the other 102. He was unquestionably one of the greatest generals and politicians of his age; bold, ambitious, and enterprifing; ever confidered, both by friends and enemies, as the very foul of the party which he espoused. He was fierce and

<sup>100</sup> W. Hemming, 1.3. c. 31. p. 586, 587.

<sup>101</sup> Id. ibid. M. Paris, p. 672.

<sup>101</sup> M. Paris, p. 672. Chron. Mailros, p. 232, &c.

clamorous in the cause of liberty, till he arrived A.D. 1265. at power, which he employed in aggrandifing and enriching his own family. But whether he did this in order to enable him to establish the liberties of his country on a folid foundation, or only to gratify his own avarice and ambition, is

perhaps impossible to be determined.

The death of the Earl of Leicester was followed A.D. 1266. by the total ruin of his family, and destruction of Consehis party. The great estates of the barons were the battle confiscated without mercy; which drove such of of Evesthem as had escaped from the fatal battle of Evesham to despair. A number of these, under the command of Simon de Montfort, eldest son of the Earl of Leicester, seized and fortified the isle of Axholm, and stood upon their defence; but after a brave relistance, they were obliged to furrender to Prince Edward, and their leader, Simon de Montfort, was banished the kingdom 103. One Adam de Gurdon was at the head of another party of these desperadoes in Hampshire; and being a person of great strength and courage, he was reduced with fome difficulty, Prince Edward having taken Adam prisoner with his own hand, after a very fierce and dangerous combat. The Prince. charmed with the bravery of the man, though exerted against his own person, not only saved his life, but granted him his liberty; a favour which he returned by the most zealous and devoted fervices 104. The garrifon of the caftle of Kennel-

104 T. Wykes, p. 76. M. Paris, p. 675.

<sup>108</sup> W. Hemming, 1.3. c. 32. p. 587. T. Wykes, p. 73.

A.D. 1266. worth was not fo eafily fubdued, holding out against the royal army several months, and were at last obliged by famine to surrender, in November A.D. 1266 105. But the most formidable body of the remains of the late powerful and triumphant faction had taken refuge in the ifle of Ely, and made great depredation on all the neighbouring country. In order, therefore, to extinguish these surviving sparks of civil diffention, a parliament was held in the town of Kennelworth, during the fiege of the castle. In this parliament more moderate counfels prevailed, and certain commissioners were appointed to compound with the rebellious barons. Many of the difinherited, as they were then called, made their compositions, and were restored to their estates 105. But the rebels in the ifle of Ely, trufting to their own ftrength and that of the place, still continued to hold out.

A.D. 1267. Gloucester ed.

In order to their reduction, the King held a par-The Earlof liament at St. Edmondsbury on the 10th February difcontent- A.D. 1267. 107 But the Earl of Gloucester, who had contributed fo much to the deliverance of Prince Edward, to the destruction, of Leicester, and to the restoration of the King to his liberty and authority, refused to attend that parliament. This. great nobleman, difgusted at the severities exercifed towards the difinherited barons, and with the little regard that was paid to the folemn promifes

the garanon of th

which

<sup>105</sup> T. Wykes, p. 78.

<sup>106</sup> This act of parliament is called Dictum de Kennelavorth. 107 T. Wykes, p. 78. M. Paris, p. 675.

which had been made to him by the Prince before A.D. 1267. the battle of Evesham, had retired in discontent to his own estate; and the messengers who were fent to him by the parliament, to invite him to that affembly, found him bufy in raifing an army. He gave these messengers the strongest assurances, that these preparations were designed against his enemy Mortimer; and even put into their hands a declaration, under his own feal, that he never would bear arms against the King: with which declaration the King and parliament were fatisfied; a fupply was granted, and an army raifed for the reduction of the ifle of Ely. 108

When the King was engaged in this expedition The Earl against Ely, and Prince Edward was employed in of Gloureducing some of the difinherited barons in the enters north, the Earl of Gloucester marched suddenly London. with his army to London, into which he was received without opposition. The city of London had been the chief support of the Leicestrian party; and the intemperate zeal of Fitz-Richard the mayor, and the lower rank of citizens, for that party, had driven them to commit many cruel outrages on the royalists, and to offer many indignities to the royal family. For these enormities the city was severely punished after the battle of Evesham; for which, being full of refentment and difaffection, the Earl of Gloucester was a welcome guest. Here the Earl published a manifesto, declaring, that he had taken up arms, to procure more mo-

108 T.Wykes, p. 78.

A.D.1267.

derate terms for the difinherited, and to oblige the King and Prince to keep their promifes, of preferving all the liberties of England. 109

Pacification.

Henry was greatly alarmed with this new and dangerous infurrection; and Prince Edward arriving from the north with an army, and having joined the King, they directed their march towards London 10. At the approach of the royal army, which was very numerous, the Earl of Gloucefter made proposals for an accommodation; and having obtained an indemnity for himfelf, his followers, and the city of London, he laid down his arms, and returned to his duty. The ifle of Elv furrendered on the 25th of July A.D. 1267., by which a period was put to the civil wars and diffentions with which England had been to long distracted. This happy event was chiefly owing to the defection of the Earl of Gloucester from the Leicestrian party, and to the wisdom, valour. and activity of Prince Edward.

Scotland and Wales.

The courts of England and Scotland had now for many years lived in the most cordial friendship with one another, the two royal families being united, by the marriage of King Henry's sister Joan to Alexander II. King of Scots, and of his daughter Margaret to Alexander III. Even the national antipathy between the two kingdoms was in a great measure extinguished by an almost uninterrupted peace of half a century. The English in this reign did not live in the same harmony with

<sup>109</sup> Rymeri Fædera, t.1. p.41. T. Wykes, p. 81.

<sup>110</sup> Chron. Dunst. p. 394, 395. T. Wykes, p. 79.

their neighbours of Wales, whose princes bore A.D.1267. with great impatience the superiority of the crown of England over them and their country, and made frequent attempts to throw it off. But all these attempts were unsuccessful, and ended in fresh submissions to a power with which they were unable to contend. In the late civil wars Lewellyn Prince of Wales warmly espoused the party of Leicester and the barons, and at length shared in the consequences of their defeat: for immediately after the furrender of the ifle of Ely, the royal army marched into Wales, which obliged Lewellyn to renew his homage and fealty to Henry, and to pay him besides the sum of twenty-five thoufand marks. III

By the submission of the Welsh, England was A.D. 1268. restored to a state of perfect tranquillity; but the Croisade. rage of civil discord was no sooner extinguished, than the foolish and pernicious spirit of croisading revived: for Henry having affembled his parliament in April A.D. 1268., at Northampton, both the King, and Ottobon, the Pope's legate, warmly recommended a new expedition for the recovery of the Holy Land; and Prince Edward. with feveral great barons, many knights and a great multitude of common people, assumed the cross 112. While preparations were making for this expedition, another parliament was held at Marleborough, in November, in which feveral good laws were made, which are well known by the name of the Statutes of Marleborough. 113

<sup>111</sup> T. Wykes, p. 84.

Ann. Waverley, p. 224.

<sup>117</sup> T. Wykes, p. 85, 86.

A.D. 1270.
Prince Edward's expedition to the Holy Land.

After two years had been spent in preparations, Prince Edward embarked at Portsmouth, in May A.D. 1270., to join the King of France at Tunis that great and good King Lewis IX. dying there of the plague, and the French army returning home, the Prince was so resolved on this romantic expedition, that he proceeded to Palestine with his own little army. There this brave Prince gave many proofs of his undaunted courage and military skill, and so much alarmed the Saracens, that an assassing the attempt, but not till he had wounded the Prince in the arm with a poisoned knife, by which his life was in great danger. 115

A.D.1272. Death of Henry III. While Prince Edward was gathering barren laurels, and encountering real dangers in the Holy Land his family and his native country, flood much in need of his prefence. In this interval the royal family fuffained two great loffes, by the death of Henry de Almaine, and of his father, the King of the Romans: the former being basely murdered at Viterbo, in Italy, by his two exiled cousins, Guy and Simon de Montfort<sup>115</sup>; and the latter dying of grief for the loss of his son, at Berkhamstead, 2d April A.D. 1272. King Henry, worn out by age and infirmities, was quite unequal to the task of government, which under his feeble administration became utterly contemptible. The great barons oppressed the people at their pleasure, the high-

116 M. West. p. 400. T. Wykes, p. 95.

<sup>114</sup> M. West. p. 400.

<sup>115</sup> M. Paris, p. 678. T. Wykes, p. 97. Chron. Mailros, p. 242, &c.

ways were infested by robbers, and the inhabitants A.D. 1272, of London, and fome other cities, became very riotous and diforderly. As the King was returning from Norwich, where he had been suppressing one of these riots, he was taken ill at St. Edmundsbury, from whence being conveyed to Westminster by eafy journies, he there died, on the 16th November A.D. 1272., in the fixty-fifth year of his age, and the fifty-feventh of his reign. 117

Henry III., furnamed of Winchester, was in his Character person of middle stature, of a robust constitution, of Henry but unpleasing countenance; his left eye-brow hanging down, and almost covering his eve. 118 This prince was certainly not possessed of great intellectual abilities, much less of true wisdom, and the right art of governing; yet his understanding does not feem to have been remarkably defective, but had unhappily taken a turn towards low difhonest cunning. As the ends which he had in view were often bad, and fuch as could not be openly avowed, he endeavoured to attain them by the winding ways of treachery and deceit. Some of Henry's repartees are preferved in history, which do not bespeak him to have been that simple fool he is often represented. When the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the bishops of Winchester, Salifbury, and Carlifle, were fent by parliament in 1253., topresenta very strong remonstrance against uncanonical and forced elections to vacant fees:

<sup>117</sup> M. West. p. 401. T. Wykes, p. 98.

<sup>118</sup> M. Paris, p. 680.

A.D. 1272. " It is true," replied he, "I have been fomewhat " faulty in that particular: I obtruded you, my " lord of Canterbury, upon your fee: I was ob-" liged to employ both entreaties and menaces, my lord of Winchester, to get vou elected, when you should have been rather fent to " fchool: my proceedings were indeed very irree gular and violent, my lords of Salisbury and " Carlifle, when I raifed you from the lowest sta-"tions to your present dignities. It will become vou therefore, my lords, to fet an example of re-" formation, by refigning your present benefices, " and try to obtain preferment in a more regular " manner." 119 But this prince was much more defective in personal courage than in understanding; and, as appears from the whole course of his history, as well as from many anecdotes, was of a very cowardly and timorous nature. In the year 1258., when the royal authority was much eclipfed, and the Earl of Leicester was in his glory, the King, in going to the Tower by water, was overtaken in a florm of thunder and lightning, with which he was greatly terrified, and ordered his barge to be put a shore at the first landing-place. But being met by the Earl of Leicester at his landing, his terrors redoubled, and he exhibited all the marks of the greatest consternation in his countenance, which made the Earl observe, that the florm was now over, and he had no further reason to be afraid; to which the King replied, " I am indeed beyond measure afraid of thunder

" and lightning; but, by God's head, I fear thee A.D. 1272. " more than all the thunder in the universe 120." Henry was still more destitute of the noble virtues of fincerity in making, and fidelity in observing, his engagements, than he was of courage. Whenever he was hard pushed by the discontented barons, he fubmitted to any terms they thought fit to prescribe, and confirmed them by all the most awful oaths and folemnities they could devife; but the moment he thought he could do it with fafety, he violated all his promifes and oaths without hefitation, fatisfying himfelf with the abfolution of his good friend the Pope, which he eafily obtained. This wicked prevarication was not more odious than it was pernicious to his affairs. and obliged the barons to proceed to much greater extremities than otherwife they would have done, plainly perceiving that nothing could make him keep his promifes, but putting it out of his power to break them. But the most fingular feature in this Prince's character was his incorrigible partiality and affection to foreigners, which attended him through his whole life, and occasioned infinite vexations to himself and his fubjects. No fooner was one fet of these foreign favourites driven from the royal presence, by attacks which shook the throne itself, than others took their place, and were cherished with equal fondness, and displaced with equal difficulties and dangers. It is highly probable, that thefe foreigners, having their fortunes to make, were much more

A.D. 1272, Supple and infinuating, and more ready to comply with all his humours, than the English barons, conscious of their own power and importance. The piety of this prince is much extolled by the monkish writers of those times 121. He was no doubt a very ufeful and liberal fon to his holy father the Pope, whom he affifted with all his might in fleecing his unhappy fubjects. He was also a most devout worshipper of rusty nails and rotten bones, particularly those of his favourite, Saint Edward the Confessor, which he placed in a shrine of gold, adorned with precious stones 122. One of the most commendable parts of this prince's character is hardly ever mentioned by our historians, his love of the arts; for the encouragement of which he expended great fums of money 123. It must further be owned, that he was a very warm and generous, though not a very conftant friend, a faithful husband, and an affectionate parent.

His children.

Henry III. left two fons; Edward his fucceffor, and Edmund furnamed Crouch-back, titular King of Sicily, and Earl of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby, and high steward of England; and two daughters; Margaret, married to Alexander III. King of Scots, and Beatrix, married to John Duke of Britanny. 124

Hiftory of Scotland.

As Alexander II. King of Scotland had been induced to enter into the confederacy with Prince

124 M. Paris, p. 679. 123 See chap. 4. of this book.

Lewis

Erat bestialis homo, sed religiosus. Chron. Mailros, p. 242. 122 T. Wykes, p. 88. M. Paris, p. 680.

Lewis of France; and the revolted barons, by the A.D. 1217. prospect of obtaining possession of the three northern counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, der II. and Westmorland; as soon as that prospect vanished, by the defeat of the confederates at Lincoln, 25th May A.D. 1217., he began to think of making peace with the young King Henry III. which, after fome time fpent in negotiation, was concluded 125. By one article of this treaty, it was stipulated, that the King of Scotland should marry the Princess Joan, the eldest fifter of the King of England; and their nuptials (after some delays, occasioned by the detention of the Princess in France) were celebrated 25th June A.D. 1221, 126

This peace and marriage put a ftop to all hofti- AD. 1221. lities between the two nations for feveral years, Peace with and introduced a friendly intercourse between the two royal families, now fo nearly related. King and Queen of Scotland made frequent vifits to the court of England; where they were nobly entertained, and received many valuable proofs of friendship from their royal brother 127. This external tranquillity gave Alexander leifure to fuppress a dangerous insurrection in Argyle, A.D. 1222., and to punish the people of Caithness for the murder of their bishop, whom they had burnt to death in his own house 128. The internal peace

England.

<sup>125</sup> M. Paris, p. 204. Fæd. tom. 1. p. 224. Chron. Mel. p. 155.

<sup>126</sup> M. Paris, p. 216. Rym. Fæd. tom. 1. p. 240.

<sup>127</sup> Ford. 1.9. C. 37. M. Paris, p. 250. Chron. Mel. p. 203. Rym. 128 Ford. 1.9. c. 34. 37. Fæd. t. 1. p. 370. 379.

A.D. 1221. of the kingdom was again disturbed, A.D. 1229., by Gillescop, a turbulent baron in the north, who was at last defeated and slain. 129

Difputes with Henry.

Though the intimate relation and pacific difpositions of the two British monarchs prevented an open rupture, there were still several subjects of dispute between them, which now and then occasioned some disquiet. On the one hand, Henry sometimes discovered a disposition to revive the claim of homage from the King of Scotland, which had been given up by Richard I.; and on the other hand, Alexander still insisted on his claim to the three northern counties of England 130. This dispute was determined, A.D. 1237., by the mediation of the Pope's legate; and Alexander accepted of certain lands in Northumberland and Cumberland, in lieu of all his claims. 131

Death of the Queen.

Joan Queen of Scotland, who had contributed fo much to the peace of her family and her country, died 4th March A.D. 1238., without having had any children, and Alexander married a French lady, Mary, daughter of Ingelram de Couci, 15th May A.D. 1239. 132

Quarrel with England prevented. Though the friendship between the two monarchs was not immediately dissolved when the great bond of union was removed, yet it gradually declined, and national jealousies revived.

<sup>129</sup> Ford. 1.9. c.47.

<sup>130</sup> Rym. Fæd. t. 1. p. 334, 335. 374, &c.

<sup>131</sup> See Lord Hailes's most accurate Annals of Scotland, vol. 1.
p. 133. Chron. Mel. p. 203, 204.

After some time spent in mutual complaints and A.D. 1244. accusations, both princes raised armies and prepared for war, A.D. 1244. 133 But that was happily prevented, and a peace concluded by the mediation of Richard Earl of Cornwall and other English barons, and Alexander engaged to live in amity with England, and not to affift her enemies, unless the English did him some wrong.134

of Alex-

When Alexander was engaged in an expedition Death and against Angus of Argyle, who refused to do ho- character mage for certain islands, he was feized with a ander II. fever, of which he died in the fmall ifle of Kirarry, 8th July, A.D. 1249., in the fifty-first year of his age, and thirty-fifth of his reign 135. He was one of the wifest and best princes that ever filled the throne of Scotland: and though he maintained the independency of his crown abroad, and the authority of his government at home, with the greatest steadiness and spirit; yet indoing both he acted with fo much temper and integrity, " that " (to use the words of a cotemporary English " historian) he was justly beloved by all the " people of England, as well as by his own fub-" jects." 136 He was fucceeded by his only fon, of the same name, a child in the eighth year of

Alexander III. was both knighted and crowned Accession by the Bishop of St. Andrew's, at Scoon, 13th of Alexander III.

<sup>133</sup> M. Paris, p. 432. 436. 134 Rym. Fæd. tom. 1. p. 429.

<sup>135</sup> M. Paris, p. 515, 516. Chron. Mailros, p. 219.

<sup>136</sup> M. Paris, p. 436.

A.D. 1244. July, only five days after his father's death 137. This precipitation was used to prevent the King of England from interfering in these ceremonies.

His marriage.

Alexander had been betrothed, A.D. 1242., when he was only a year old, to Margaret eldeft daughter of Henry III., a princess about the same age; and their nuptials were celebrated with A.D. 1251. great pomp, at York, 26th December, A.D. 1251. 138 On that occasion Alexander did homage to Henry for his possessions in England; but Henry, taking advantage of his youth, and other circumftances, required him to dohomage to him for his crown and kingdom of Scotland. To this unfeafonable and ungenerous requifition, Alexander, by the advice of his council, returned this prudent answer, "That he had been invited to "York to marry the Princess of England, not " to treat of flate affairs; and that he could not take a flep of fo much importance, without " confulting his parliament." 139

Civil broils.

Scotland was a scene of much disquiet, and of various revolutions, during the minority of Alexander III. The great men were divided into two parties, the one composed of the powerful family of the Comyns, and their friends; the other of the rest of the nobility and their followers. Robert de Ros and John de Baliol, two of the Comyn party, were regents, and had the young King and Queen in their hands, which gave them a great

<sup>137</sup> Ford. 1. 10. C.I.

<sup>139</sup> Id. p.554, 555.

<sup>138</sup> M. Paris, p. 395. 554.

advantage over their rivals 140. They kept their A.D. 1251. fovereign and his confort in a kind of confinement in the castle of Edinburgh, without allowing them to cohabit; of which, and some other difcourtesies, the Queen made bitter complaints.

The King of England, being uncle to the King, King of and father to the Queen of Scots, could not be an England interpoles. unconcerned spectator of those transactions. Liftening to the complaints of his daughter against the Comyns, he embraced the interests of the opposite party, who had the good fortune to take the caftle of Edinburgh by furprife, and fet the King and Queen at liberty 141. To support them, Henry came with an army to the borders of Scotland; but at the same time, August 25. A.D. 1255., he emitted a proclamation, declaring, that he did not design to attempt any thing against the rights and liberties of that kingdom 142. He was vifited by the King and Queen of Scotland, who fpent some time with him, first at Werk castle, and afterwards at Roxburgh. At this last place a plan for the government of Scotland, during the King's minority, was fettled, 20th September. By this plan the Comyns and their friends A.D. 1255. were difiniffed from the council, and deprived of all their places, and the administration was committed to fifteen of the chiefs of the opposite party. 143

made an altimice with Lewellyn Pri

<sup>140</sup> M. Paris, p. 609. Chron. Dunft. p. 317.

chron. Mailros, p. 220.

<sup>142</sup> Rym. Fæd. tom. 1. p. 562. 143 Id. ibid. p. 566, 567.

A.D. 1255.
Alexander visits the court of England.

The tranquillity of their kingdom being thus restored, the young King and Queen, attended by a retinue of 300 horse, visited the court of England in August A.D. 1256.; and on September 2, Alexander obtained a grant of the earldom of Huntingdon from his father-in-law 144. As a surther mark of his affection, Henry issued orders to all his military tenants in the sive northern counties to affist the King of Scotland with all their forces. 145

Broils renewed.

The peace of Scotland was of fhort duration. Gamelin, late chancellor, and Bishop-elect of St. Andrew's, a zealous friend of the Comyns, was confecrated by William de Bondington Bishop of Glafgow, who was of the same party, in direct opposition to an injunction of those in power. For this act of disobedience, the Bishop of St. Andrew's was outlawed, and the revenues of his fee were feized. He flew to Rome, and complained to the Pope, who espoused his cause so warmly, that he excommunicated all his enemies. The Comyns and their party, taking advantage of this, exclaimed loudly, that the King and government were in the hands of excommunicated persons; and that the kingdom was in danger of being laid under an interdict. Not contented with clamours, they flew to arms, and feized the King and Queen at Kinrofs. They also made an alliance with Lewellyn Prince of Wales, who was then (1257.) at war with England, and,

<sup>144</sup> M.Paris, p.626.

<sup>145</sup> Rym. Fæd. tom. 1. p. 605.

carrying the young King with them, they marched A.D. 1257. their army to the borders. But Henry having raifed an army in the north, a negotiation was fet on foot, which produced a kind of coalition of parties, and a regency was formed, confifting of ten persons, four of each party, with the queen-dowager, and her fecond husband, John de Brienne. 145

Though this coalition of parties was probably Peace renot very fincere, it produced an external calm, flored. which gave the King and Queen of Scotland an opportunity of vifiting the court of England, where the Queen was delivered of a daughter, named Margaret, A.D. 1260. 147

Alexander having now arrived at full age, took Norwethe reins of government into his own hands, and gian invaconducted the affairs both of peace and war with prudence and courage. It was not long before his courage was put to the trial. Haco King of Norway, having collected a fleet of one hundred and fixty ships, embarked with a numerous army and failed towards Scotland, in fummer, A.D. 1263., most probably with an intention to recover fuch of the western isles as had formerly belonged to his crown, but had been wrested from it by the Scots. He made himself master of the islands of Arran and Bute, and afterwards landed his army on the coast of Cunningham. By this

<sup>146</sup> Chron. Mailros, p. 221. M. Paris, p. 644. Rym. Feed. tom. 1. p. 670.

<sup>147</sup> Rym. Fæd. tom. 1. p. 712. Chron. Mailros, p. 223.

A.D.1257, time Alexander had raifed an army, with which he attacked the bold invaders of his country, at Largs, October 2. The battle was fierce and bloody; but victory at last declaring for the Scots, the greatest part of the invading army fell in the action or in the pursuit. To complete the misfortunes of the Norwegians, their fleet was diffipated, and many of their ships wrecked, by a fform, the day after the battle. Haco reached the Orkneys, where he landed, and foon after died, as it is faid, of a broken heart 148. This defeat of the Norwegians was followed by the reduction of almost all the western islands, and the fubmission of Magnus King of Man, to hold his country of Alexander, and to furnish him with ten gallies, when demanded. 149

A.D. 1264. Alexander fends aid to Henry III.

Alexander, now enjoying perfect tranquillity at home, fent a choice body of his subjects, under the conduct of John Comyn, John Baliol, and Robert Bruce, to the affiftance of his father-inlaw Henry III. against his revolted barons. These troops behaved bravely, and fuffered much at the battle of Lewes: two of their leaders, John Comyn and Robert Bruce, were made prisoners. but foon obtained their liberty. 150

Western isles yielded to Scotland

Magnus King of Norway, difcouraged by the difafter which had befallen his father, yielded all his rights to the western islands and the Isle of

<sup>148</sup> Torfæi. Hift. Norveg, 4.47. Ford, 1.10. e.17. Chron. 149 Ford. 1.10. c. 18. Mailros, p. 224.

<sup>150.</sup> M. Paris, p. 669, Hemming, p. 581. Knyght. col. 2447.

Man (A.D. 1266.) to the crown of Scotland, AD. 1257. for the fum of 4000 marks, to be paid in four years, and a quit-rent of 100 marks yearly 151. The Norwegians still retained the Orkney and Shetland islands.

Scotland enjoyed so perfect a peace during the Great tranrest of the reign of Alexander III. which falls within this period, that it happily affords few materials for history. It was no small addition to the felicity of this good prince, that his queen was delivered of one fon, who was named Alexander, A.D. 1263., and of another, who was named David, A.D. 1270. 152

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## SECTION II.

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The civil and military history of Britain, from the death of Henry III., A.D. 1272., to the death of Edward I. A.D. 1307.

THOUGH Edward I., eldeft fon of the late Accession King, was at a distance from England when i. his father died, the greatness of his character fecured his peaceable fuccession, and persons of all ranks fwore fealty to him with much alacrity. In an affembly of the nobility held on the day after the royal funeral, the Archbishop of York.

Torfæi Hift. Norveg. vol. 4. p. 343.

<sup>152</sup> Chron. Mailros, p. 225. Boece, l. 13.

<sup>1</sup> Rymeri Fædera, t. 1. p. 888. Walfingham, p. 54. Westmonst. p. 352.

A.D.1273. the Earls of Cornwall and Gloucester, were chosen regents of the kingdom; and this choice was confirmed in a more full affembly or parliament, in January A.D. 1273.

A.D. 1274. His coronation.

Edward was in Sicily, on his return from the Holy Land, when he received the news of his father's death, and of his own peaceable acceffion. Being informed at the same time, of the perfect tranquillity of his dominions, he made no great hafte to take possession of the crown. After spending some time at Rome, and other parts of Italy, he visited the court of France, and performed his homage for the territories which he held of that crown. Having fuppressed an insurrection in Gascony, and settled fome commercial disputes with the Earl of Flanders, he embarked for England, landed at Dover, August 2., A.D. 1274., and was crowned at Westminster, on the 19th of the same month, together with his Queen Eleanora, the amiable and affectionate companion of his travels.2

First acts of Edward's government.

As England at this time enjoyed a profound peace, Edward very wifely feized that favourable opportunity of enquiring into the state of the lands and revenues of the crown; and into the conduct of the sheriffs and other officers, who had both defrauded the King and oppressed the people in the late reign 3. He was at no less pains to reftore the internal police of the kingdom, and

T. Walfingham, p. 45, 46. T. Wykes, p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Chron. Dunft. p. 426.

the vigorous execution of the laws, which the A.D. 1275. late troubles and the feeble administration of Henry had rendered contemptible. By the advice of his parliament, which met at Westminster in May A.D. 1275., many good laws were enacted, which have been ever fince diffinguished by the name of the Statutes of Westminster 4. But it was not long before Edward was interrupted in thefe falutary works of peace, and involved in fcenes of war.

The only vaffal of the crown of England who Dispute had made any fcruple of paying homage and Prince of fwearing fealty to Edward at his accession, was Wales. Lewellyn Prince of Wales. This Prince had been feveral times fummoned to come to court, and perform his homage; but, without directly refufing, he still delayed to do this, under various pretences. While Edward was employed in regulating the internal flate of his kingdom, he winked at these delays; but that affair being now fettled, he determined to bring this powerful and refractory vaffal to obedience. The animofity of the Prince of Wales against Edward was much increased by an incident which happened about this time. Lewellyn, who had been a faithful ally and zealous friend to the great Earl of Leicester. in the days of his prosperity, still continued to cultivate the friendship of that family, after their banishment out of England, and had even entered into a contract of marriage with Eleanor de

A.D. 1276. Montfort, a daughter of that Earl; but the young lady being intercepted on her passage from France to Wales, was detained a prisoner in the court of England 5. When the Prince was again fummoned to come and perform his homage, he made bitter complaints of the injury which had been. done him, and refused to comply, unless his bride was immediately fet at liberty, and the King's fon, with feveral noblemen, were put into his hands as hostages for the fafety of his person. This last demand was thought infolent and unreasonable, both by Edward and the English parliament, which met after Eafter, A. D. 1276., at Westminfter, to confider of this affair. The parliament further declared, that Lewellyn had forfeited his dominions, by refusing to do homage to his fuperior lord; exhorted Edward to reduce him by force of arms; and for that purpose granted him a fifteenth of the moveables both of the clergy and laity. 6

A.D. 1277. Invasion of Wales ..

In confequence of this advice and supply, Edward prepared in good earnest for the conquest of Wales. Every thing being prepared for this expedition, in the fpring A.D. 1277., Edward advanced towards Wales at the head of a great army; and with equal caution and courage penetrated into the heart of that country.

Peace with Wales.

Lewellyn, as usual, retired with his army into the mountains of Snowden; but here he was foon affaulted by famine, which obliged him to fue to

4 Ann. Waverlien. p. 231.

<sup>6</sup> Walfingham, p. 46, 47. T. Wykes, p. 104.

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Edward for peace, which was granted, but on very A.D. 1277. hard terms. He agreed to pay 50,000 pounds for damages, and the expences of the war; to do homage to the crown of England, and even permit administration all the barons of Walesto do the fame, except four; to give up all the country between Cheshire and the river Conway; and to fettle fuitable revenues on his two brothers Roderic and David 1, who had taken shelter in the court of England, and implored the protection of Edward against their own brother.8

Though Lewellyn had been reduced to the ne- Lenity of ceffity of fubmitting to these severe conditions, Edward. which hardly left him a shadow of sovereignty; Edward was not very rigorous in exacting the full performance of them. He remitted the payment of the 50,000 pounds°; delivered to Lewellyn his betrothed wife; affifted at their marriage; and, conducting the Prince to Westminster, he there performed homage to Edward, according to the late treaty on Christmas day, A.D. 1277., in prefence of the bishops and barons of England. 10

The annals of England, in the two next years, A.D. 1278. are full of the fevere punishments which were then Punishinflicted upon the Jews for clipping the coin, and other iniquitous practices ". An order was iffued to feize the whole of that people in one day, the 12th November, A.D. 1278. 12; and, after a very fhort trial, two hundred and eighty of them were

ment of the Jews.

<sup>7</sup> T. Wykes, p. 105, 106.

<sup>\*</sup> Trivit. Ann. 1277.

Rymer, vol. 2. p. 88. 9 Rymer, vol. 2. p. 92.

<sup>10</sup> T. Wykes, p. 106.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Walfing. p.48.

<sup>12</sup> T. Wykes, p. 107.

A.D. 1278, hanged in London only, and all their lands. houses, money, and goods, to an immense value, were confiscated. 13

Inquifition into the titles of the barons.

Edward at the fametime employed another method to fill his coffers, and increase the revenues of the crown; by appointing commissioners to examine the titles by which the barons and others held their lands. These commissioners, by a vigorous exertion of their authority, gave great trouble and vexation to many, brought a great deal of money into the exchequer, by fines and compositions for defective titles, and added many estates to the royal demesnes. But a stop was put to their career by the boldness of the Earl of Warren; who appearing before these commisfioners, and being defired to produce the inftruments by which he held his estate, drew an old rufty fword out of its fcabbard: "This," fays he, " is the inftrument by which my ancestors gain-" ed their estate, and by which I will keep it as " long as I live." This answer being reported to Edward, he became fenfible of the impropriety of pushing this inquisition any further, and wifely revoked the commission. 14

War with Wales.

But it was not long before Edward was called again into the fields of war, in which indeed he too much delighted. Lewellyn Prince of Wales, and his subjects were very uneasy in that state of fubjection to which they were reduced; and this uneafiness was much increased by the insolence of the victorious English settled in the conquered

<sup>13</sup> M. West. p. 367.

<sup>14</sup> Ann. Waverlien. p. 235

country between Cheshire and the river Conway; A.D. 1281. and by the haughtiness of the lords marchers, who flighted all the complaints of the Welsh 15. David, brother of Lewellyn, diffatisfied with Edward, inflamed the refentment of his brother, and exhorted him to make another brave effort to shake off the English yoke, and recover the ancient freedom and independence of his country. Accordingly in the fpring, A.D. 1281., the Welsh flew to arms, and made inroads upon the English territories. Their first attempts were crowned with fuccess: they took the Lord Clifford prisoner, and gained fome other flight advantages over the troops which were fent to oppose them. 16

Edward was not ill pleased with this fresh infur- A.D. 1289. rection of the Welsh, as it furnished him with a Conquest plaufible pretence for making a total conquest of their country. In order to this, he fummoned his barons and military tenants to meet him at Worcefter about Midfummer; and having collected a great army from all parts of his dominions, he advanced towards Wales 17. Lewellyn, unable to face fo great a force in the open field, retired into the fastnesses of Snowden, whither he was followed by Edward, who feizing all the passes, resolved once more to reduce the Welsh by famine. As he imagined this would be a work of some time, he gave the command of the army to Roger Morti-

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<sup>15</sup> Powel's History, p. 344, &c.

Walfing. p. 49. Annal. Waverlien. p.234.

<sup>17</sup> M. West. p.411. T. Wykes, p. 110.

A.D.1282, mer, and, retiring to the castle of Rudhlan, quietly waited the event. But the affair was brought to a speedier issue than he expected: for the Welsh having defeated a small party of the English who -had rashly ventured over from the isle of Anglefey on a bridge of boats, were fo much elated with this trifling fuccess, that they left their fatnesses, and attacked the English in the open plain. They paid very dear for their prefumption; for they received a total defeat, on the 11th December A.D. 1282., Lewellyn himself, and two thousand of his men, being left dead on the field of battle18. Prince David made his escape, and skulked about the country for fome time in various difguifes; but being betrayed and taken prisoner, he was conducted to Shrewfbury, tried by his peers, (probably as Earl of Derby) condemned and executed A.D. 1283. as a traitor 19. His head (with that of his brother) was exposed to public view on the walls of the Tower of London, and his quarters fent to York, Briftol, Northampton, and Winchester. In this cruel manner did Edward shed the blood of the last of the ancient sovereigns of Wales, derived from fo long a line of princes. 20

Effects of that conquest.

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After this decifive victory, and the death of their princes, the Welfh made no further refistance; but tamely, though not without much inward forrow

or community of the white of Lone; Morti-

<sup>18</sup> Powell's Hift. Wales.

<sup>&</sup>quot; T. Wykes, p. 111.

T. Walfing. p. 50, 51, 52 Chron. 20 Knyghton, col. 2465. Trivet an. 1281, 82, 83. Annal. Waverlien. p. 235, &c. Hemingford, t. I. p. 7. 13. T. Wykos perro. M.W.O. R. W.M.

and reluctance, submitted to the English yoke; A.D. 1283. and an end was put to that long and bloody quarrel between the English and ancient Britons, which had subfifted more than eight centuries. This, however shocking it was to the brave and independent spirits of the Welsh, was a very happy event, as it put a stop to those torrents of blood, and scenes of desolation, occasioned by the mutual enmity of the two nations; and as it made way for the introduction of the English laws, learning, and arts, into Wales. Some years after the conquest of Wales, Edward bestowed the title of Prince of Wales on his eldeft fon Edward, which hath ever fince been the title of the eldest fons of the kings of England.

The final reduction of Wales produced a pro- Peace. found peace, which continued feveral years without the least interruption, and gave Edward leifure to make further improvements in the laws and government of England, which will be taken

notice of in their proper place. 21

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Since the accession of Edward to the throne of Edward England, he had been feveral times called upon to attend the kings of France as one of their in France. vasfals, by virtue of his territories on the continent; but being engaged at home, he had fent excuses; which were admitted. Being now at leifure, and receiving a fummons from Philip the Fair, who had lately mounted the throne of France, to come and perform his homage, and

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A.D. 1286, being also chosen mediator between the competitors for the crown of Sicily, he refolved to visit the continent. Having appointed the Earl of Pembroke regent of the kingdom, he fet fail for France on the 24th June A. D. 1286.22 attended by several English bishops and barons. The transactions of Edward, during his long refidence abroad, belong more properly to the hiftory of his foreign dominions than to that of England. It is enough to fay, that he was chiefly employed in profecuting fome claims which he had to certain territories in France, as heir to his mother Eleanor of Provence, and in putting an end, by his mediation, to the long and bloody dispute between the houses of Anjou and Aragon about the crown of Sicily: and that in both these affairs he acted with great wifdom, honour, and fuccefs. He was by thefe things, however, detained rather more than three years in France, and did not arrive in England till the 12th of August A.D. 1289.23

A.D. 1289. Confequences of the King's abfence.

Edward's long absence from England had been attended with many inconveniencies. It had encouraged the Welfh, not yet well reconciled to the English government, to raise an insurrection, which was suppressed with some difficulty. The kingdom was a scene of much violence and confusion; particularly one Thomas Chamberlain, agentleman of desperate fortunes (in conjunction with feveral other desperadoes), was guilty of a most out-

<sup>23</sup> T. Wykes, p. 118. Hemingford, 13 M. West. p. 412. t.r. p.14. Annal. Waverlien. p.239.

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rageous act of villainy, by fetting fire to the town A.D. 1289. of Boston in Lincolnshire, in the time of a great fair, and plundering the merchants and townsmen of money and goods to an immenfe value, in the confusion occasioned by the fire. Chamberlain was taken and hanged; but could not be prevailed upon to discover any of his accomplices 24. The very fountains of justice were polluted, and loud complaints were made of the corruption and venality of the judges. The King, foon after his return, called a parliament to examine these complaints; which were found to be true. Sir Thomas Weyland, the chief justiciary, being found guilty, was banished the kingdom; the other judges of both benches, of the Jews, of the forests, the justices itinerant, feveral sheriffs and bailiffs, and others concerned in the administration of justice being also found guilty, were fined, according to the degrees of their demerits, or their wealth; which fines are faid to have brought no less than one hundred thousand marks into the royal treafury 25. The Jews, too, feem to have taken occafion, from the King's absence, and the venality of the judges, to pulh their exactions to a greater length than ever; for the cry against them was now become so vehement and universal, that the parliament affembled at Westminster on the 14th of January A.D. 1290., came to a refolution to A.D. 1200. banish the whole race of these greedy and usurious Ifraelites out of the kingdom. In confequence of

Occasion

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<sup>24</sup> Heming. vol. 1. p. 16, 17.

A.D. 1290.

this refolution, all their real effates were confifcated, and no fewer than fifteen thousand Jews were at this time expelled from England. 26

The long peace between England and Scotland terminated.

The kingdoms of England and Scotland had continued many years in the most perfect peace and harmony. The two royal families, ftrictly united by the ties of blood, had maintained a conflant intercourse of friendly visits and mutual good offices: - the coin of each kingdom had been current in the other, and the merchants had enjoyed the greatest freedom of trade in both. But this happy period of peace and harmony was now near an end, and was succeeded by the most fierce and lasting animofities, and a long series of cruel and destructive wars, which brought many calamities on both kingdoms. In order to discover the fatal fource of these national animolities and wars, it will be necessary to take a view of some events which had lately happened in Scotland.

Occasion of this rupture.

Alexander III., King of Scots, who was killed on the 19th of March 1286, by a fall from his horse, near Kinghorn, left no children, and but one grandchild, a female, an infant, and in a foreign country. This was Margaret, the only child of Alexander's daughter of the same name, late Queen of Norway, the undoubted heires of the crown of Scotland, and recognized as such by the states of that kingdom, which met about three weeks after the King's death. The same convention of estates made choice of fix noblemen to be

regents of the kingdom during the absence of A.D. 1290. their young Queen, then only about three years of age 27. For some time these regents acted with wisdom and unanimity, and their government gave universal content; but the Earl of Buchan, one of the regents, dying, and the Earl of Fife, another of them, being murdered, disputes arose among the remaining four; and every thing tended to confusion. Eric King of Norway hearing of these distractions, began to be apprehensive for the interests of his daughter, the Queen of Scotland; and in order to fecure to her the possession of that crown, he applied by ambaffadors to Edward King of England, her grand uncle, for his affiftance and protection 29. This application was very agreeable to Edward; who had already formed a scheme for uniting the two British kingdoms by the marriage of his eldest fon Edward with the young Queen of Scots; and had even privately procured a dispensation from the Pope for that purpose. Conferences were held at Salisbury between the ambaffadors of the King of Norway, fome of Edward's ministers, and plenipotentiaries from the regency of Scotland; in which all the preliminaries for the young Queen's voyage into her dominions were fettled. 29

Edward, thinking all things now ripe for open- Marriage ing his grand scheme, fent a very honourable embaffy to the parliament of Scotland, met at Brigham, near Kelfo, on the 18th of July 1290., to

between Prince Edward and the infant

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Buchan. Hist. Scot. 1.8. p.132. Rymeri Fæd. t.2. p.266. 272. 28 Rymeri Fæd. t. 2. p. 416. 324. 327. 339. 29 H. Boeth. p. 191. Rymeri Fædera, vol. 2. p. 431, &c.

Queen of Scotland negotiated.

make a formal demand of their young Queen in marriage with his fon, and with full powers to fettle all the conditions of the marriage. The parliament of Scotland readily agreed to the marriage, as advantageous to both kingdoms; but, in fettling the conditions, they took every possible precaution to preferve the independency of their country, and to guard against every danger that might arife from fo ftrict an alliance with fuch a powerful and ambitious neighbour. It was agreed, that the Scots should enjoy all their ancient laws. liberties, and customs: - That in case Edward and Margaret should die without issue of the body of Margaret, the kingdom of Scotland should revert, free, absolute, and independent, to the next heir: - That in cafe Edward should die before Margaret without iffue by her, the body of Margaret should be remitted to Scotland free and independent: - That the military tenants of the crown, and other subjects, should not be obliged to go out of Scotland, to do homage, to fwearfealty, to elect or to be elected to any office, or to do any fervice that had been usually performed in Scotland: - That the kingdom of Scotland should have its chancellor, officers of state, courts of justice, &c. as before: - That a new great feal should be made, and kept by the chancellor, with the ordinary arms of Scotland, and the name of none but the Queen of Scotlandengraved upon it: - That all papers and records belonging to the crown and kingdom of Scotland, should be lodged in a fecure place within that kingdom, under the feals of the nobility: - That

all parliaments called to treat of the affairs of Scot- A.D. 1290. land, should be held within that kingdom: -That no duties, taxes, or levies of men, should be raifed in Scotland, but fuch as had been usual:-That the King of England should pay the Pope one hundred thousand pounds, for the use of the holy wars: - and, That himfelf and his dominions should be excommunicated, and laid under an interdict, if he did not religiously observe all these articles 30. These articles were agreed to and confirmed by Edward: and as this is the first plan which was formed for the union of the British crowns, it is a great curiofity. The Scots in these times are represented by some of our historians as an ignorant and barbarous people; but it is hard to fay what better precautions could have been taken by the wifest nation, in the most enlightened age, for fecuring the freedom and independency of their country.

All these preliminaries being settled to the mu- Death of tual fatisfaction of both nations, Sir Michael Scot the infant Queen of and Sir David Weems were fent as commissioners Scotland. from Scotland to Norway, to receive the young Queen, and conduct her into her own dominions31. But when all Britain was big with expectation of the arrival of this princess, who was to be the bond of lafting peace and union, a rumour of her death was first heard, and afterwards more certain intelligence was received, that she had died in Orkney, where, being fick, she had landed. 32

<sup>2</sup>º Rymer, vol. 2. p. 482, 483, 484.

<sup>31</sup> Buchan. Hift. Scot. 1. 8. p. 132.

<sup>\*</sup> M. Westmonst. p. 381. W. Heming. t. 1. p. 20.

Fatal confequences of her death.

It will be difficult to find in history the death of any one person attended with more fatal confequences than that of this infant queen. It distipated in a moment all the pleasing hopes of peace and union, and entailed long and bloody wars upon both the British kingdoms, which brought the weakest of them to the very brink of ruin.

A.D. 1291. Death of Queen Eleanor.

- Edward, in the course of the late negotiations, had gained a very powerful party in Scotland, and, amongst others, Fraser, Bishop of St. Andrew's, one of the regents, from whom he received the earliest intelligence of the young queen's death, with an advice to raife an army and approach the borders. He readily complied with this advice, which was fo agreeable to his own fecret views. But as he was conducting his army towards Scotland, he met with a very grievous affliction by the death of his beloved Queen Eleanor, the faithful partner of all his cares and joys, and companion of all his travels. Ambition on this occasion vielded to tenderness and grief: he suspended his expedition, to accompany the remains of his queen, from Grantham in Lincolnshire, where she died, to Westminster, where she was interred with great funeral pomp. 33

Edward chosen judge in the dispute about the crown of Scotland.

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Ducen of

Scotland.

In the mean time Scotland was a fcene of great confusion. The two chief competitors for the crown, John Baliol and Robert Bruce, were eagerly employed in strengthening their parties and preparing their forces to affert their claims. It

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foon became visible to all the world, that this dif- A.D. 1201. pute could not be terminated within the kingdom without a fierce and destructive civil war. To avoid this the regents, the states, and even the competitors, agreed to refer this great controverfy to Edward King of England; who had always professed the greatest respect and affection for the Scotch nation; who had lately acquitted himfelf with fo much honour as an umpire between the competitors for the crown of Sicily; and who had power sufficient to put his sentence in execution. The Bishop of St. Andrew's was fent into England. to inform Edward of this reference, and intreat him to take upon him the office of an umpire between the competitors for the crown of 

This office Edward accepted with the greatest Edward's pleasure, and managed with the most admirable artful conpolicy; never disclosing his design till he was almost fecure of their fuccess, and through the whole proceedings observing all the external shews and forms of justice, however much the effentials of it were violated.

In confequence of his office of arbitrator, he Affembly fummoned the states of Scotland, and the com- at Norpetitors for the crown, to meet him at Norham, a fmall town on the fouth banks of the Tweed, a few miles from Berwick; and that they might not hefitate at paffing that river, he made a declara-

defeats which the Scots had received from the

<sup>34</sup> Buchanan, 1.8. p. 134. Fordun, 1.11. c. 42. W. Heming. t. 1. volus pente. Fordun hir cat p.32. 33.

A.D. 1201. tion, that it should not be drawn into precedent 35. Edward came to the place of meeting, attended by a splendid court and powerful army.

Edward claims the **fuperiority** of Scotland.

When all were affembled, on the 10th of May A.D. 1201., Roger Brabazon, chief justiciary of England, made a speech to the states of Scotland; in which, after a very fmooth exordium, he told them, that King Edward was come to determine the great cause concerning the crown of Scotland, in virtue of his right of superiority and direct dominion over that kingdom, and required that this right should be immediately recognifed, and folemnly acknowledged, by the flates, as the first step to be taken. The states, greatly astonished at this unexpected demand, asked some time to confider of it, and were allowed till the next day.

Grounds of that claim.

Edward had been at great pains in collecting arguments in support of his pretensions to the fuperiority over Scotland, which he hoped would foon draw after it the possession of that kingdom. A paper, containing these arguments, was read to the affembly at Norham. But after all the pains which he had taken, that paper hath appeared to many a very weak performance, more like the work of a chicaning attorney than of a great king. It confifts chiefly of scraps out of abbey chronicles, and other English histories, many of them very unfairly quoted, enumerating all the defeats which the Scots had received from the

<sup>35</sup> Rymer, vol. 2. p. 528. Fordun, l. 11. c. 10.

English, and all the disadvantageous treaties A.D. 1201. which they had made with them; together with a minute recapitulation of all the homages which had been paid by the kings of Scotland to the kings of England; though all the world knew, that these homages had been paid for the lands which the Scotch kings possessed or claimed in England, and not for the kingdom of Scotland. Edward was not even ashamed to mention the legendary stories of Brute and his sons, and of King Athelftan's cutting a yard deep with his fword into a rock near Dunbar, by the affiftance of his good friend St. John of Beverley, as proofs of the fuperiority of the Kings of England over Scotland. He infifted at great length on the homage performed by William the Lion, King of Scots (when he was a prisoner), to Henry II. for the whole kingdom of Scotland, as one condition of his being fet at liberty; but, with the greatest difingenuity, he took no notice of the renunciation of that homage and superiority granted by Richard I. to the same King William 37. It had been eafy for the states of Scotland to have answered. thefe weak arguments, if they had been at liberty: but they were entirely in the power of Edward: and therefore, at the meeting on the 11th of May, they earneftly requefted a longer delay, that they might have an opportunity of confulting with the

<sup>36</sup> Walfing. p. 81. Knygton, col. 2484, &c.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Prynne, vol.3. p.489. Rymer. Fæd. t. 2. p. 559. Walfing. p.55, 56.

A.D. 1201.

other bishops and barons who were absent, about a matter of fo great importance. With much difficulty they obtained a delay of three weeks; and Edward appointed them to meet him again at the same place on the 2d day of June.

Edward's **fuperiority** acknowledged.

In the mean time Edward was not idle, but employed every method in his power to strengthen his party in Scotland, and both by threats and promifes to bring as many as possible to acknowledge his fuperiority 38. According to appointment, the guardians of Scotland, with the competitors for the crown, and many barons and prelates, met, on the 2d of June, in a plain opposite to the castle of Norham, where Edward then lay. The Bishop of Bath and Wells, chancellor of England, was fent by Edward to represent him in that meeting, and report the refult of their deliberations. Some of the Scots barons represented, that the question concerning the fuperiority of England could not properly be determined until Scotland had a king, his honour and interest being so much concerned 30. But the competitors for the crown, afraid of offending Edward, by disputing a point which they faw he was refolved to carry, confented to acknowledge the fuperiority of the crown of England over the crown and kingdom of Scotland; and, by their influence and example, brought the rest of the states to acknowledge the same, or to remain filent40. Edward was not even contented with this acknowledgment, but obliged all the

<sup>38</sup> Hemingford, vol. 1. p. 33.

<sup>40&#</sup>x27; Rymer, vol. 2. p. 548.

<sup>39</sup> Walfing. p. 56.

competitors to give him letters-patent, under A.D. 1291. their hands and feals, owning his superiority, and promifing to fubmit to his decifion 41. Thus did Edward, by his power and policy, gain this great point, on which his heart was very much fet and with which he was greatly delighted. How fhortfighted is the greatest human wisdom! Little did this prince imagine, that, instead of entailing the fuperiority of a kingdom, he was entailing nothing but a bloody and destructive quarrel, on his country and his posterity.

No fooner had Edward fucceeded in his first Edward pretention, than he disclosed another. That he might have a kingdom to bestow on the person to tains the whom it should be adjudged, he demanded to have all the royal castles and places of strength in Scotland put into his hands; and this demand was granted. 42

demands and ob-

The King of England, having thus obtained competievery thing he could defire, proceeded to take tors for fome fteps towards the decision of this great cause, of Scotand to determine which of the competitors had land. the best right to the crown of Scotland. These competitors were now multiplied to the number of thirteen; fome of them probably flirred up by Edward, in order to perplex the cause, and others perhaps prompted by their own vanity. The names of these competitors were as follows: John Baliol Lord of Galloway, Robert Bruce Earl of

<sup>41</sup> Rymer, vol. 2. p. 579. Heming. t. I. p. 33, 34. Walfing. p. 56. 57.

<sup>42</sup> Rymer, vol. 2. p.556.

A.D. 1201. Annandale, John Haftings Lord of Abergavenny, Florence Earl of Holland, Eric King of Norway, Robert Dunbar Earl of March, John Cummin Earl of Badenoch, William de Vesey, Robert de Pinkeny, Nicolas de Soules, Patrick Galyhtly, Roger de Mandevile, Robert de Ross 43. The titles of the ten last of these competitors were either derived from baftard branches of the royal family, or fo triffing or ill supported, that they do do not deserve a place in history. The three first were the only persons who had any plausible pretenfions: and in order to understand the foundations of their respective claims, it will be necesfary to take a view of a part of the genealogy of the royal family of Scotland.

Claims of the chief competitors.

Henry Prince of Scotland died before his father King David, and left three fons, Malcolm, William, and David. Malcolm fucceeded his grandfather, David, and died without iffue. William fucceeded his brother Malcolm, and left iffue; but his posterity were now extinct, the last of them being Margaret of Norway, the late infant Queen of Scotland. It is undeniable, therefore, that the crown of Scotland was now devolved to the posterity of Prince David, younger brother of the Kings Malcolm and William. David had been Earl of Huntington in England, and left three daughters, Margaret, Ifabella, and Ada. Margaret, the eldest daughter of Earl David, married Allan Lord of Galloway, by whom she had an only

daughter, Dervorgilla, married to John Baliol, by A.D. 1291. whom she had John Baliol, the competitor; who, according to this account, was great-grandfon to David Earl of Huntington, by his eldest daughter. Isabella, the second daughter of Earl David, married Robert Bruce, by whom she had Robert Bruce, the competitor, who was grandfon to the Earl of Huntington by his fecond daughter. Ada, third and youngest daughter of Earl David, married John Haftings, by whom she had John Hastings, the competitor, who was grandfon to that earl by his youngest daughter. Hastings could have no pretenfions to the whole fuccession of David Earl of Huntington while the posterity of his two elder daughters were in being; all he pretended to therefore was, that thekingdom of Scotland should be divided into three parts, and that he should inherit one of them, as heir to one of the three daughters of Earl David. But the kingdom being declared impartible, the pretentions of Haftings were excluded, and there remained only two competitors, Baliol and Bruce. Baliol claimed the whole kingdom of Scotland, as heir to David Earl of Huntington by his eldest daughter; but Bruce pleaded, that though he was descended from the fecond daughter; yet, being grandfon to the Earl of Huntington, he ought to be preferred before Baliol, who was only great-grandfon to that earl. The whole controverfy, therefore, between thefe two chief competitors turned upon this hinge, Whether the more remote by one degree, defcended from the eldeft daughter, or the nearer

A.D. 1291. by one degree, defcended from the fecond daughter, had the best title? To examine this, and every other question that might arise in this cause, it was agreed, that John Baliol and Robert Bruce should each name forty commisfioners, to whom Edward might add twenty-four; which commissioners should sit at Berwick, and report their opinion to Edward, who was finally to judge, and pronounce fentence. 44

Determination in favour of John Baliol.

A.D. 1292. These commissioners, appointed to examine the merits of this great cause, met at Berwick, for the first time, on the 2d of August A.D. 1292.; and after three months spent in various meetings and deliberations, they gave their opinion in favour of Baliol. All things being now ripe, Edward appointed the 17th of November for pronouncing his award and judgment; and accordingly on that day, in the great hall of the caftle of Berwick, in presence of all the prelates, earls, barons, and great men, of both kingdoms, he adjudged the crown and kingdom of Scotland to John Baliol 45. But this unhappy prince very foon found, that a dependent crown was no very valuable possession.

Severity of Edward.

As foon as Edward had thus obtained the fuperiority of the crown and kingdom of Scotland, he proceeded to exercise it with unrelenting severity, and in its full extent. He obliged King John, on the day after the cause was determined in his fayour, to perform his homage, and fwear fealty to him and his heirs, kings of England, for the

<sup>44</sup> Rymer, vol. 2. p. 555.

<sup>45</sup> Id. ibid. 598.

whole kingdom of Scotland: after which he per- A.D. 1202. mitted him to go and take possession of his kingdom 46. But that his royal vassal might not forget his dependency by fitting too long unmolefted on his throne, Edward recalled him into England immediately after his coronation, and made him renew his homage and fealty at Newcastle, on St. Stephen's day, A.D. 1292. Besides this, that John might not imagine that this humiliating ceremony was all he had to fuffer, Edward haftened to load him with fresh indignities; and in a little more than one year this shadow of a king received no fewer than fix citations to appear before the King of England in his parliament, to answer the complaints of several private persons on matters of no great importance. 47

In confequence of these citations, King John A.D. 1203. attended Edward in his parliament after Michael- Indignity mas A.D. 1293., at Westminster: and when one of the complaints against him came to be tried; Scotland. he offered to answer by his attorney: but this privilege was not granted him; and, after a long struggle, he was obliged to descend from his feat, and fland at the bar like any common delinquent 48. Even the tame spirit of Baliol was roused by this affront: he felt the deepest refentment, and fecretly refolved to embrace the first favourable opportunity of throwing off a yoke which was become intolerable. It was not long before a very promifing opportunity offered. The till has abased on one walk agong

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King of France.

<sup>46</sup> Rymer. Fæd. tom. 2. p. 593. 47 Rymer, vol. 2. p. 605-616. 48 Ryley Placet. Parl. p. 152, 153.

A.D. 1293. War with France.

While Edward was eagerly purfuing hisdefigns on Scotland, an accidental fcuffle happened between the crews of an English and French ship. about a fpring of fresh water near Bayonne. This fcuffle, in which a French failor was killed, being reported in both countries, became a national quarrel, and produced a kind of piratical war, trifling indeed in its beginnings, but very bloody and destructive in its progress. A fleet of two hundred Norman ships, failing towards the fouth, feized all the English ships which they met with in their passage, hanged the crews, and made prize of the cargoes. The inhabitants of the Cinque-ports hearing of this, fitted out a fleet of fixty flout ships, well manned, and waited for the enemy in their return. The two fleets met; and after an obstinate struggle the English obtained a complete victory, and took or destroyed the greatest part of the French sleet. As no quarter was given, the action was very bloody; and the French, it was pretended, loft 15,000 men. 49

A.D.1294. Edward fummoned by the King of France.

The two monarchs being otherwise employed, had not directly intermeddled in this quarrel; but this last affair was too serious to be overlooked. Philip the Fair, King of France, sent ambassadors into England, to demand reparation; and Edward, not willing at this time to break with France, dispatched the Bishop of London to that court, with several proposals for an accommodation. But all these proposals were rejected; and the war continuing,

<sup>49</sup> Walfing. p. 58-60. Heming. t. I. p. 39, 40; &c.

Philip cited the King of England, as Duke of A.D. 1204. Guienne, to appear before him in his court of Paris 50. This citation was given to Edward in November A.D. 1294., about a year after he had treated the King of Scotland with fo great infolence in his parliament at Westminster: fo that while he made the unhappy Baliol feel all the weight of feudal fubication, he was treated with the same haughtiness by his own liege lord, the King of France.

The King of Scotland, feeing everything tend- A.D. 1295. ing to a rupture, determined to feize that oppor- Alliance tunity of throwing off the English yoke, by enter- the kings ing into a strict alliance with the King of France. In order to this, he fent ambassadors into France, land. to negotiate a treaty with that crown; which was figned and fealed on the 23d of October, A.D. 1295. By this treaty, the kings of France and Scotland agreed to affift one another against their common enemy the King of England, and not to make peace but by common confent. 51

Edward did not think fit to obey the citation he Edward had received from France; and yet, unwilling to deceived come to an open rupture with that court, he fent King of his brother Edmund Earl of Lancaster to Paris to France. negotiate an accommodation. Philip appeared exceedingly incenfed against Edward's subjects in Guienne (who had joined with the English), and

between of France and Scot-

<sup>50</sup> Walfing. p. 60. Triveti Annal. an. 1294.

<sup>51</sup> Rymer, vol. 2. p. 680. Prynne's Collect. vol. 3. p. 602, &c. Heming. t. 1. p. 76, 77.

A.D. 1295. would liften to no reasonable terms. But when the Earl of Lancaster was ready to depart, the Queendowager, and the reigning Queen of France, interposed their good offices, and proposed, that if Edward would furrender Guienne into the hands of Philip, in order to fatisfy his point of honour, it should be immediately restored. The Earl of Lancaster, with his brother's consent, figned a treaty with the two queens, on these terms, which was confirmed by the verbal declaration of King Philip before feveral witnesses. In confequence of this treaty, the dukedom of Guienne was furrendered to the conftable de Nisle, who took possesfion of it in the name of the King of France. But when the Earl of Lancaster demanded the restoration of that dukedom, according to the treaty with the two queens, he received a flat denial. Edward was again summoned to appear before Philip in his court at Paris; and upon his not appearing, the court declared, he had forfeited Guienne; which was accordingly confifcated 52. Thus Edward, who had used so many artifices to gain the superiority of Scotland, lost Guienne, his undoubted property, by a shameful fraud.

Edward prepares for war.

and Scot-

Though Edward was both ashamed and enraged to be thus outwitted by the court of France, he did not take any hafty fteps, but acted with his usual prudence. His first care wasto collect money to defray the expences of a war with France and

Scotland.

<sup>52</sup> Rymer, vol. 2. p. 620, &c. Walfing. p. 61. Heming. t.I. p.41, 42.

Scotland, which he faw was unavoidable. In or- A.D. 1205. der to this, he feized the large fums of money which had been collected for the holy war, and were deposited in several monasteries 53; and his parliaments granted him very large supplies. one time the clergy granted him one-half, the merchants one-fixth, and the rest of the laity a tenth, of all their moveables 54. Besides all this, he violently feized all the wool and hides which were ready for exportation, promising to pay the owners at a convenient time. Edward being, by these and various other means, possessed of the sinews of war, determined to carry it on with great vigour.

This wife prince, though greatly irritated against Edward the King of France, on account of his gross pre- delays his invasion of varication in the affair of Guienne, the invalion France, in of England and burning of Dover, A.D. 1295., order to conquer and many other injuries, refolved to make his scotland. greatest efforts against Scotland. He contented himself, therefore, with sending his brother Edmund with a small army into Guienne to preserve the few places he still possessed in these parts, and to keep the war alive in France, while he refolved. to attempt the total conquest of Scotland. 55

Edward, that he might not want a plaufible A.D. 1296. pretence for invading Scotland, required King War with Scotland. John to deliver the castles of Berwick, Jedburgh, and Roxburgh, into his hands, as a fecurity for

<sup>53</sup> T. Wykes, p. 126. Heming. t. 1. p. 51, 52.

<sup>54</sup> M. West. p. 394, 395. Walfing. p. 62. Heming. t. r. p. 53, 54.

<sup>55</sup> Walfing. p. 63, 64.

A.D.1296. his peaceable behaviour during the war with France<sup>56</sup>. John having concluded the above-mentioned treaty with the King of France, and having also received from the Pope an absolution from the oaths of fealty which he had fworn to Edward, refused to comply with this demand; and as a further evidence of his hostile dispositions, he banished all Englishmen out of Scotland. In the spring of the year 1296., Edward began to move northward with his army; and arriving at Newcastle in the beginning of March, he there held a parliament, to which King John received a citation, which he entirely flighted; and hostilities immediately commenced between the two kingdoms.57

Advantages of Edward.

The King of England began this war with every advantage that could promife certain and complete fuccefs. He excelled in military skill and courage, and conducted a powerful, united people, against a weak dispirited nation, headed by an unpopular and unwarlike prince. To render this match still more unequal, Edward was joined by Robert Bruce Earl of Carrick, and his fon, of the same name, who was afterwards King of Scotland, with feveral barons of their party. King John was even fo much despised by that part of his fubjects who acknowledged his authority, that they did not think fit to trust him with the conduct of the war, but chose twelve guardians, who were to have the chief direction of all affairs. 58

<sup>56</sup> Rymer, vol. 2. p.692. Walfing. p.64.

In the beginning of the war the Scots had some A.D. 1206. fuccess. Their fleet defeated an English squadron which blocked up Berwick by fea, and funk fixteen of their ships; -the castle of Werk was be- Scots. trayed to them by its governor; and a thousand men whom Edward fent to preferve it, falling into an ambush, were cut in pieces; -a fmall army of Scots broke into Northumberland and Cumberland, plundered the country, and burnt feveral monasteries, and the suburbs of Carlisle, 59

Successes of the

But these slight successes were followed by a Greater long train of grievous and irreparable loffes. victories of Edward, croffing the Tweed at Coldstream without opposition, invested Berwick; which he took by a stratagem, on the 30th of March, and put all the numerous garrifon to the fword 63. The castle of Roxburgh was soon after surrendered by James, steward of Scotland, who submitted, and fwore fealty to Edward. The Earl of Warrenne, with a large detachment of the English army, belieged the castle of Dunbar; and the Scots army, which is faid to have amounted to 40,000 foot and 500 horse, approaching to raise the fiege, a battle was fought near that place. April 27, in which the Scots received a dreadful overthrow, leaving (as the English historians affirm) ten thousand men dead on the field of battle ". This terrible defeat entirely difpirited the Scots; the caftles of Edinburgh and

<sup>59</sup> Trivet. p. 288. Heming. t. 1. p. 87, 88. Knyghton, col. 2478, 60 Heming. vol. 1. p. 89-97. M. West. p. 404. Walling. p. 67.

A.D. 1296.

Stirling furrendered almost without resistance; and the whole fouth of Scotland was fubdued before Midfummer. Edward determined to purfue his advantage, directed his march northward, having received a strong reinforcement of 

King John furrenders.

The unfortunate Baliol, after the fatal battle of Dunbar, had retired with the shattered remains of his army beyond the river Tay. But diftrufting the fidelity of his own troops, and despairing of making any effectual refiftance, he refolved to throw himself upon the mercy of the congueror. He found means to communicate this resolution to Edward; who sent Anthony Beck, Bishop of Durham, to confirm him in his design, and conduct him into his prefence; and that artful prelate, encouraging the fallen monarch with hopes of favour, brought him before the King of England, on the 2d of July, at a place called Stroutharrack 63. At this interview, the two kings discovered their real characters, John behaving with the most abject meanness, and Edward with the most unrelenting selfishness. He obliged Baliol to make a folemn furrender, by letters-patent under his hand and feal, of his whole kingdom, and royal dignity into his hands 64; after which he fent him prisoner to the Tower of London. This pufillanimous and unfortunate prince had enjoyed so little peace and comfort since his accession

Stirling

<sup>64</sup> Rym. Fæd. t. 2. p. 718. Heming. t. r. p. 99, &c. Walling. p. 68.

to the throne, through the continual infults of Ed- A.D. 1206. ward and the difaffection of his own fubiects, that he feems to have loft all relish for royalty, and never more intermeddled with affairs of government. After remaining some years a prisoner in England, he was fent to his own estate in France. where he died in a private station, at an advanced

> Severity of Edward to

Edward shewed as little lenity to the kingdom A.D. 1207. as to the King of Scotland. He fent all the nobility who fell into his hands prisoners into Eng- the Scots. land; he destroyed or took away all the public records; he carried off the regalia, and that fatal chair in which their kings had been crowned, and for which they had fuch a fuperstitious veneration; and, in a word, he did every thing in his power to obliterate every monument of their former independency. All the chief offices of the kingdom were bestowed on Englishmen. John de Warrenne Earl of Surry was appointed governor, with fufficient force, as it was believed, to keep the country in subjection: and every thing being fettled to his mind, Edward returned with the bulk of his army into England; concluding, that he had made a final conquest of Scotland 66. But the fequel will show how much he was mistaken.

While Edward was employed in Scotland, the War with war in Guienne had languished; but being now at France. leifure, he refolved to attempt the recovery of that

<sup>65</sup> Rymer, vol. 2. p. 848.

<sup>66</sup> Walfing. p. 68. Trivet. p. 299. Heming. t. I. p. 103.

A.D. 1297. province with all his power. On this occasion, however, he changed his place of operations; and, instead of fending an army into Guienne, which was remote, he proposed to make a formidable attack upon France from the fide of Flanders. In order to this he concluded treaties with the Emperor, the Dukes of Austria and Brabant, the Earl of Flanders, and feveral other princes on the continent, who engaged for certain fums of money, to furnish him with troops for his intended invasion of France. 67

Parliament.

The great difficulty was, to find money fufficient to fet this great machine in motion. He affembled a parliament, and obtained an eighth of their moveables from the cities and boroughs, a twelfth from the rest of the laity, and, after a long and violent struggle, a fifth from the clergy. 68

Edward quarrels with the constable and marfhal.

But this haughty prince foon found, that the clergy were not the only persons who dared to dispute his commands; for having appointed Humphrey Bohun high conftable, and Hugh Bigod Earl-marshal of England, to command a small body of troops which he defigned to fend into Guienne. to create a diversion on that fide, these noblemen refused to obey the appointment, alleging they were not obliged to ferve but where the King was in person. This refusal brought on a violent altercation between the King and the high constable; in the course of which, Edward, transported with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> M. West. p. 421. Rymer, vol. 2. p. 761.

<sup>68</sup> M. West. p.422. Heming. t. 1. p.105-110.

rage, criedout, "By the eternal God, Sir Earl, you A.D 12070 " shall either go or hang;" to which the other replied, with equal fierceness, "By the eternal " God, Sir King, I will neither go nor hang;" and immediately left the court, accompanied by the Earl-marshal and thirty other barons. 69

Though Edward was a prince of strong passions, Edward's his great prudence kept them within due bounds; moderaand he wifely concealed his refentment against the two earls, until they became fo haughty that they refused to permit the King's officers to raise either men or money within their territories 70. Even then, being intent on his foreign expedition, he contented himself with depriving them of their high offices, and appointing others in their room 71. That he might leave his other fubiects in good humour, he made a speech to the nobility, excusing his illegal exactions by the necessity of his affairs; folemnly promising, that at his return he would redrefs all grievances, and make compensation for all their losses; and that he would for the future firely observe the great charter of their liberties. 72

Having appointed his fon Prince Edward re- Expedigent of the kingdom, he embarked at Winchelfea, tion to the on the 22d of August A.D. 1297., and three days after landed at Sluys, with an army (as fome hiftorians affirm 73) of 50,000 men. The fuccess of Ed-

continent.

<sup>69</sup> Heming. vol. 1. p. 112.

<sup>71</sup> Heming. t. 1. p. 114.

<sup>73</sup> Knyghton, col. 2512.

<sup>70</sup> Id. t. r. p. 113.

<sup>72</sup> Id. ibid.

A.D. 1297. ward in this expedition was by no means answerable to his immense expences and mighty preparations. His allies, having received his money, were in no hafte to furnish him with troops. The inhabitants of the great towns in Flanders were more in the interest of France than of their own fovereign: Philip had already defeated the Flemings in the battle of Furnes, and taken the towns of Lifle, St. Omer, Courtrai, and Ypres. In this fituation of affairs, and the feafon far advanced, Edward found he could perform nothing worthy of his great name and high expectations, and was glad to conclude a truce with Philip, and refer all their differences to the arbitration of the Pope. Having spent near eight months in this expensive and unfortunate expedition, he returned to England in March A.D. 1298., where his prefence was much wanted. 74

Revolution in Scotland by Sir William Wallace.

If Edward gathered no laurels on the continent in his late expedition, those which he had before gained by the conquest of Scotland were entirely blafted by a very fudden and furprifing revolution. which happened in that kingdom in the course of this year. The chief instrument of this great revolution was the celebrated Sir William Wallace, a young gentleman of an ancient family, but small fortune, in the shire of Ayr. Wallace is reprefented by the Scotch historians as the model of a perfect hero; superior to the rest of mankind in bodily stature, strength, and activity; in bearing

cold and heat, thirst and hunger, watching and A.D. 1297. fatigue; no less extraordinary in the qualities of his mind, being equally valiant and prudent, magnanimous and difinterested, undaunted in adversity, modest in prosperity, and animated by the most ardent and unextinguishable love of his country 75. This extraordinary person, having his refentment against the enemies of his country sharpened by some personal affronts, neglected no opportunity of haraffing the English: and becoming famous for his daring and fuccefsful adventures, he was foon joined by great numbers of his countrymen. The first attempts of this chofen and determined band were crowned with fuccess. Several of the nobility observing this, either fecretly favoured, or openly joined them.76

But this first dawn of success was soon overcast. The Earl of Surry, governor of Scotland, collected an army of 40,000 men; which entering Annandale, and marching through the fouth-west of land, and Scotland, obliged all the barons of these parts to fubmit, and renew their oaths of fealty 77. Wallace, with his followers, unable to encounter fo great a force, retired northward, and were purfued by the governor and his army. When the English army reached Stirling, they discovered the Scots encamped near the abbey of Cambuskenneth, on the opposite banks of the Forth. Creffingham, treafurer of Scotland, whose covetousness and tyranny

Earl of Surry's expedition into Scotbattle of Stirling.

<sup>75</sup> Buchanan, Hift. Scot. I. 8. p. 137. Fordun, 1.11. c. 28.

<sup>76</sup> Heming. vol. 1. p. 118. Trivet. Ann. 1297.

<sup>17</sup> Heming. p. 122, 123.

A.D. 1207, had been one great cause of this revolt, earnestly pressed the Earl of Surry to pass his army over the bridge of Stirling, and attack the enemy. Wallace, who observed all their motions, allowed as many of the English to pass as he thought he could defeat, when rushing upon them with an irrefiftible impetuofity, they were all either killed, drowned, or taken prisoners. In the heat of the action, the bridge, which was only of wood, broke down, and many perished in the river; and the Earl of Surry, with the other part of his army, were melancholy spectators of the destruction of their countrymen, without being able to afford them any affiftance 78. Such was the violent hatred of the Scots against Cressingham, that finding his dead body on the field of battle, they treated it with the most wanton infults 79. This fevere check, which the English received on the 11th September A.D. 1297., obliged them once more to evacuate-Scotland.

Wallace invades England.

Wallace, who after this great victory was faluted deliverer and guardian of the kingdom by his followers, purfuing the tide of fuccess, entered England with his army, recovered the town of Berwick, plundered the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland, and returned into his own country loaded with spoils and glory. so

A.D. 1298. Edward invades Scotland.

The news of these surprising events being carried to Edward in Flanders, accelerated his return.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Heming. vol. 1. p. 127-129. Trivet. Ann. 1297. Walfing.

<sup>79</sup> Heming. vol. 1. p. 130.

<sup>80.</sup> Id. ibid. p. 131-136.

After his arrival, he issued orders to all the forces A.D. 1208. of England and Wales to march northward; and ' having held a parliament at York, about Whitfunday A.D. 1298., and passed several gracious and popular acts; to fecure the hearts of his own fubjects, he hastened to join his troops at their general rendezvous near Roxburgh st. Here he found himself at the head of a gallant army, consisting of 80,000 foot and 7000 horse 82. A fleet of ships, loaden with provisions, had orders to fail up the Frith of Forth as the army advanced. 83

Scotland.

The Scots were not in a condition to refift fo State of great an army, commanded by fo brave a leader. Their country, for feveral years, had been almost a continued scene of war, in which many of its inhabitants had perished. Some of their nobles were in the English interest, some of them in prison; and those few who had any power or inclination to defend the freedom of their country, were difpirited and divided. In particular, the ancient nobility began to view the power and popularity of William Wallace with a jealous eye; which was productive of very fatal confequences. 84

About Midfummer Edward marched from Rox- Battle of burgh to Berwick, which he entered without Falkirk. opposition; and from thence advanced into the country, by eafy marches, taking fome caftles, and destroying every thing as he proceeded 85. When he had reached Templeliston, now Kirk-

<sup>81</sup> Heming. vol. 1. p. 158, 159. 82 Id. ibid. 83 Walling. p. 75. 84 Fordun, l. 11. c. 31.

F3 Walfing. p. 75.

<sup>65</sup> Heming. t. 1. p. 159, &c.

A.D. 1298.

lifton, his army began to be in fo great diffrefs for want of provisions, that he was on the point of marching back to Edinburgh. At this critical moment he received intelligence that the Scotch army were encamped near Falkirk at about eighteen miles distance. The English army then advanced to the fields near Linlithgow, where they lay on their arms all night. Very early in the morning, July 22d, Edward, though he had been much hurt in the night by a blow from his horse, put his army in motion, advanced towards the enemy, and found them drawn up in order near the village of Falkirk. Here a battle was fought; the particulars of which are fo variously related, that it is hardly possible to investigate the truth. All that can be faid with certainty is, that the Scotswere defeated with great flaughter, and the English obtained a complete victory with little lofs. 56

Edward's proceedings after the battle.

to straff

Edward after this great victory spent some time at Stirling, for the recovery of his health, while his troops were employed in plundering the country, and burning the towns of Perth and St. Andrew's 87. He then directed his march westward, and found the caftle of Ayr forfaken and burnt by Robert Bruce, who had lately abandoned the English interest. A scarcity of provi-

87 Heming. t. r. p. 165.

Effon.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Walfing. p. 75, 76. Ypodegm. Neustriæ, p. 489. Heming. t. 1. p. 163, &c. Trivet. Ann. 1298. M. Westmonst. p. 411. Knyghton, col.2527. Buchan. Hift. Scot. I. S. p. 139. Fordun, 1.11 c. 31. 34. J. Major, l. 4. c. 15.

fions prevented Edward from pursuing Bruce into A.D. 1298. Galloway, as he intended, and obliged him to march directly through Annandale (where he took the castle of Lochmaben) into England. 83

Edward, before his return from the continent, had concluded a truce with the King of France, and had also referred all his disputes with that prince to the Pope 99. Boniface, who then filled the papal chair, in order to lay a foundation for a lafting peace, proposed, that King Edward should marry Margaret, the fifter, and his fon Prince Edward should marry Isabella, the daughter of the King of France; and that a congress should be held at Montreuil in Picardy, for discussing and fettling all difputes between the two monarchs. A peace was accordingly concluded at that place, June o., and ratified by both kings August 3., A. D. 1299.; and about a month after Edward married the Prince is Margaret of France. 90

A.D. 1200. Edward's marriage and peace. with France.

While Edward was engaged in these negotia- Stirling tions, the Scots, a little recovered from the con- caffle befusion into which they had been thrown by their taken by late defeat, had collected fome forces, and in- the Scots. vested the castle of Stirling. To preferve that important place from falling into their hands, Edward, foon after his marriage, fet out to join his army in the north. But when he arrived at Berwick, and proposed to march into Scotland, his great barons refused to follow him, pretending that the feafon was too far advanced for fuch

fieged and

<sup>89</sup> Rymeri Fæd. t. 2. p. 817. 89 Heming. t. 1. p. 165.

A.D. 1200, an expedition. This conftrained him to abandon his defign, and disband his army, having first fent a permission to the garrison of Stirling castle to furrender on fuch terms as they could procure. 91

A.D. 1300. Edward invades Scotland.

Edward, in order to remove the discontents of his barons, which had prevented his intended expedition into Scotland, held a parliament at London, in the time of Lent, A.D. 1300.; in which he confirmed the famous charters of their liberties. with fome additions 92. About Midfummer he entered into the west marches of Scotland, at the head of a great army, took fome caftles, and penetrated into Galloway. Here a petition was prefented to him from the guardians and community of Scotland, requesting him to permit their King, John Baliol, to reign over them in peace, and to allow their nobles to redeem their lands from those Englishmen to whom he had granted them. But he rejected their petition with difdain. 93

The Pope claims the **fuperiority** of Scotland.

A few days after this (August 26.), Edward's progrefs was interrupted by a very remarkable event. The Archbishop of Canterbury arrived in the English camp, and presented to the King a bull from the Pope; in which His Holiness very clearly refuted Edward's pretenfions to the fuperiority over Scotland; but advanced still more impudent and groundless pretenfions of his own, affirming, that Scotland did, and always had belonged to the fee of Rome; and commanding Edward, if he had

<sup>91</sup> Heming. t. 1. p. 168-170.

<sup>23</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>92</sup> Walfing. p. 78.

any claim to that kingdom, to fend commif- A.D. 1300. fioners to Rome to plead his cause within fix months 94. Edward's army being at this time diffressed by a scarcity of provisions, and the frequent affaults and furprifes of their enemies, he marched them back into England, and granted the Scots a truce from October 20, to next Whitfunday. 95

Though the arguments advanced by the Pope Answers of in support of his claim to the kingdom of Scotland were in themselves perfectly ridiculous, they gave Edward and his ministers no little trouble. After spending some time in collecting materials for an answer to His Holiness, they laid this affair before the parliament, which met at Lincoln January 20., A. D. 1301. The English barons were filled with indignation at the prefumption of a foreign prieft, in fummoning their fovereign before him to plead his cause, and returned a very fpirited answer, declaring, that they would not allow their king to submit to such an indignity. This answer, dated at Lincoln, February 12., was figned and fealed by one hundred and four of the temporal barons in the name of the whole parliament 96. Edward fent a very long answer to the Pope, in his own name; in which he enumerated all his claims to the superiority of Scotland, beginning with that which he derived from his famous predecessor Brutus the Trojan. 97

Edward and his parliament to the Pope.

<sup>94</sup> Rymer, t. 2. p. 844-846. Heming. t. 1. p. 172-177. 95 Id. ibid. p.873-875.

<sup>95</sup> Rymer, t. 2. p. 868. 97 Walfing. p. 18-85. Rymer, t.2. p. 863-888.

A.D. 1300. Edward again invades Scotland.

The truce with the Scots being now expired, Edward, attended by his fon the Prince of Wales, and a great army, marched into Scotland about Midfummer; but performed nothing that hath obtained a place in history. He fpent the winter at Linlithgow, where on January 26., A.D. 1301. he ratified a truce with the Scots, from that time to November 30. of the same year. 98

A.D. 1302. The English defeated at Roflin.

As foon as this fecond truce ended, Edward fent an army into Scotland, under the command of John de Segrave, one of the most celebrated warriors of that age. But this general having divided his troops into three bodies, which marched at a confiderable diffance from each other, was defeated near Rollin, February 24., A.D. 1303., by a fmall army of Scots, commanded by John Comyn, regent of Scotland, and Simon Fraser. 99

A.D. 1303. Peace between France and England.

Though the Scots had derived little advantage from their alliance with France, in their struggles for preferving the independency of their country, they still entertained hopes of assistance from that quarter. But these hopes were now entirely blafted, by a treaty of peace that was concluded May 20., A.D. 1303., between the kings of France and England, in which John Baliol and the Scots were not included. 100

Edward being now difengaged from all his other enemies, feems to have fet his whole heart on making a complete conquest of Scotland, which

<sup>98</sup> Rymer, t. 2. p. 896.

<sup>59</sup> Heming. t. r. p. 197. Fordun, 1.12. c.2. Rymer, t.2. p.923 -928.

had long been the great object of his ambition. A.D. 1393. With this view, he marched into that country, at the head of fo great an army, as deprived that unhappy people of all hopes of fuccess from resistance. Accordingly he met with none till he arrived at Brechin, were Sir Thomas Maul defended the castle against him, till he was killed by a stone discharged from an engine 101. After this he conducted his army to the extremity of the province of Moray, and back to Dunfermline, where he fpent the winter with his Queen and court. 102

In the course of last year, Robert Bruce, and feveral other barons, had submitted to Edward; Nobility of and in the beginning of this, John Comyn Earl Scotland of Badenoch, who had long acted as guardian of Edward. Scotland, in the name of his uncle John Baliol, followed their example, together with his friends and followers 103. All these barons were secured in their lives, liberties, and estates; but subjected to certain pecuniary penalties. A few who had been most active in their opposition were banished for a certain time. The garrison of Stirling castle, the only fortress of the kingdom which had not furrendered, were declared outlaws, in a parliament held at St. Andrew's in April. 104

Edward, in order to finish the conquest of Scot- Siege and land, made great preparations for the fiege of Stir- furrender ling castle, which he invested immediately after of Stirling Easter. It was defended about three months

M. Westmonst, p.440.

<sup>101</sup> Ryley Placita Parliam. p. 369.

<sup>102</sup> Heming. t. 1. p. 205.

<sup>104</sup> Fordun, 1.22. c. 3.

A.D. 1304. against all his efforts, by Sir William Oliphant and a fmall garrison, who were at length compelled to furrender at difcretion 105. As all the ftrong places, as well as the chief men of Scotland, had now submitted to Edward, he appointed John de Segrave governor of that kingdom, and fet out on his return to England about the end of August. 106

Wallace condemnecuted.

A.D. 1305. Though the renowned William Wallace had long been excluded, by the jealoufy of the nobles, ed and ex- from commanding the armies, and influencing the councils, of his country, he still continued to affert its independency, even after all the rest of his countrymen had submitted to superior force. This, together with the remembrance of the many mischiefs which he had done to his English subjects, and perhaps some apprehension that he might again rekindle the flames of war, made Edward employ various means to get possession of his per-In this he at last succeeded. Wallace was furprised, some say betrayed, in one of his lurking-places near Glafgow, conducted to London, tried, condemned, and executed, August 23., A.D. 1305.107 Thusfellone of the braveft men, and most determined patriots, that Scotland ever produced; and with him the freedom and independency of his country feemed to fall.

Plan for the government

Edward was now employed in forming a plan for the future government of Scotland, in which he

<sup>105</sup> M. Westmonst. p. 445, 446. Heming. t. 1. p. 205, 206. 106 Trivit. Ann. 1304. Rymer, t.2. p. 950. 107 T. Walfing. p. 90. Trivit. Ann. 1305.

was affifted by Robert Bruce Earl of Carrick and A.D. 1305. Annandale, who appears to have possessed a considerable degree of his favour 105. By this plan land. (which was drawn up by commissioners appointed for that purpose) various changes were to be made in the laws of Scotland; and the chief places of power and profit were to be possessed by Englishmen jog. These arrangements did not contribute any thing to reconcile the minds of the Scots to their new government or their new governors.

Robert Bruce Earl of Annandale, fon of Robert Robert Bruce the competitor, died in his way from Lon- Bruce forms the don, foon after Eafter A.D. 1304.; and John design of Baliol King of Scotland died at his estate in France mounting about a year after 110. These two events seem to of Scothave inspired Robert Bruce, the fixth of that name, and grandfon of the competitor, with the defign of afferting his claim to the crown of Scotland, and attempting to rescue his country from the English voke. With this view, he left the court of England, and came into Scotland about the end of this year, or the beginning of the next.

the throne

John Comyn Earl of Badenoch was head of the A.D. 1306. most opulent and powerful family at this time in Bruce kills Scotland. He had been feveral years guardian of the kingdom; and was one of the last who submitted to Edward. Bruce, being fensible that the affiftance of fo potent a baron would be of the

<sup>109</sup> Id. p. 279. 108 Ryley, p. 243.

Heming. t.1. p.214. Hift. Chron. de Maieurs d'Abbe ville, p. 263. 306.

A.D. 1206, greatest advantage, and his opposition the greatest detriment to him, in his attempt upon the crown, defired and obtained an interview with him in the convent of the friars minors at Dumfries, February 10., A.D. 1306. What was faid at this interview must for ever remain a fecret, as none were present but the two chieftains; but it is certain. that they quarrelled,—that from words they proceeded to blows, -that Bruce struck Comyn with his foot, and then wounded him with his dagger, -that one of Bruce's friends, Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick, rushing in, put him to death. ""

Bruce crowned at Scone.

After this daring and desperate deed, Bruce and his friends feized the caftle of Dumfries by furprife, apprehended the English judges, who were then-holding a court in the town-hall, published Bruce's resolution to affert his claim to the crown, and dispatched messengers into all parts, to invite the friends of his family, and of the freedom of their country, to come to his affiftance. Thefe messengers were so successful, that in a few days Bruce found himfelf at the head of a fmall army. with which he advanced, taking the caftles, and wasting the lands, of all who refused to submit to his authority. About the middle of March he had penetrated as far as Perth, the English every where endeavouring to fave their lives by flying into their own country 112. Having affembled all the chief men of his party, he was crowned at Scone on

Heming. t. I. p. 219. Walfing. p. 91. M. Westmonst. p. 455. 112 M. Westmonst. p. 455.

Friday, March 27. A.D. 1306., in presence of A.D. 1306. four bishops, five earls, and a great multitude of knights and gentlemen. For the greater folemnity, this ceremony was repeated on the Sunday after, when the crown was put upon his head by the Countess of Buchan, fifter of the Earl of Fife (which family claimed a right to crown the kings of Scotland), her brother being absent, and in the English interest. 113

Nothing could exceed the furprife and indig- Invation of nation of Edward when he heard of this revolution in Scotland. He was then at Winchester, lift army. and immediately commanded Aymer de Valence, Henry de Percy, and Robert de Clifford, to raife all the military in the north of England, to join the forces of the family of Comyn, and all the Scots in the English interest, and to take vengeance on the traitor Bruce, as he called him, and all his followers 114. These commands were punctually obeyed: the three generals entered Scotland with a confiderable army, in the beginning of fummer, and were joined by the partifans of the Comyn family, who were much enraged against Bruce for the murder of their chief.

As the enterprise in which Robert Bruce had Misforengaged was one of the boldest and most desperate tunes of that ever was undertaken, so it was for some time. one of the most unprosperous. Many of his bravest friends were killed or taken, June 24, at the fatal

<sup>113</sup> M. Westmonst. p. 456. Heming. t. I. p. 220.

<sup>114</sup> Rymer, t.2. p. 988. Heming. t.1. p. 221.

A.D. 1306. battle of Methven, near Perth; where he was furprifed and defeated, and from whence he made his escape with great difficulty 115. The shattered remains of his army were again defeated at Dalry, a few days after, by the men of Argyle, under the command of their chieftain the Lord Lorn, who, being the nephew of the murdered Comyn, was the mortal enemy of Bruce. Unable any longer to keep the field, he dismissed his few remaining followers; and, after skulking for some weeks on the continent, he took shelter, with only two or three friends, in the fmall island of Ruchrin, one of the most unfrequented of the Western Isles 116. Nor was Bruce less unfortunate in his family and friends than in his forces. His three brothers. Neil, Thomas, and Alexander, with Christopher Seton, an English baron, his brother-in-law, being taken in different places, were tried, condemned, and executed as traitors. His brave. and faithful friends, the Earl of Athol, Simon Frafer, and feveral others, shared the same fate "7. His queen, his only daughter, Marjory, his two fifters, Mary and Christina, with the Countess of Buchan, the heroine who had placed the crown upon his head, were all taken, and committed to different prisons, where some of them were treated with great feverity. 118

Edward knights his eldeft

While the wretched Bruce was overwhelmed by fo many calamities, his powerful adversary Ed-

<sup>115</sup> Walfing. p.91. Heming. t.1. p. 222.

<sup>116</sup> Fordun. 1.12. c. 11. Buchan. 1.8. p. 142. u7 Id. ibid.

<sup>118</sup> Rymer, t. 2. p.1012-1015.

ward was collecting money, and raifing forces, to A.D. 1306. make a final conquest of Scotland. To animate the young nobility with greater ardour in this en- invades terprife. Edward conferred the honour of knighthood upon his eldeft fon Edward Prince of Wales, in his palace at Westminster, on Whitsunday, with very great folemnity. Immediately after, the Prince went in procession to Westminster church, mounted on the high altar, and knighted about three hundred young noblemen and gentlemen, who were all dreffed in robes embroidered with gold, which they had received out of the royal wardrobe. At the end of this ceremony, two fwans, adorned with trappings and bells of gold, were brought with great pomp into the church; and the King took a folemn oath, by the God of heaven, and by these swans, that he would march into Scotland, and never return till he had avenged the death of John Comyn, and punished the rebellious Scots. The Prince, and the young knights, his companions, took oaths to the same purpose is. Soon after this folemnity, the King, with the Prince and his knights, fet out to join the army, which was appointed to rendezvous at Carlifle in July. But this great army meeting with no enemy in the field, fpent the campaign in plundering the country, taking prisoners, and receiving the submissions of such as surrendered. 120

Scotland.

When neither friends nor foes knew what was Bruce apbecome of Bruce, he fuddenly made his appear-

pears, and is forced to retire.

<sup>119</sup> M. Westmonst. p. 458.

<sup>120</sup> Id. p.460-463. Rymer, t. 2. p.1013-1016.

A.D. 1306. ance, about Michaelmas, on his own eftate in Carrick, at the head of a fmall but refolute band of followers, furprifed Henry de Percy, who had obtained a grant of that eftate from Edward, feized his baggage, and befieged himfelf in Turnberry castle. But on the approach of a large detachment of the English army, he was obliged to raise the fiege, and take shelter in the highlands. 121

A.D. 1307. Bruce excommunicated, and Gavaston banished.

Edward, who was now in a declining flate of health, spent the last months of the former, and the first months of this year, in Cumberland, and held a parliament at Carlifle, which met January 20. A.D. 1307. While this parliament was fitting, on February 22. Peter d'Espaigne, cardinal-legate from the Pope, attended by the King, bishops, and barons, in their robes, with candles lighted and bells ringing, folemnly excommunicated Robert Bruce, and all who favoured him, as perjured traitors and enemies of peace 122. A few days after this folemnity. Piers de Gavaston, a Gascon gentleman, the great favourite and corruptor of Prince Edward, was banished the kingdom; and both the Prince and Gavaston took a solemn oath, that he never should return without the King's leave. 123

When Edward was thus moving heaven and earth against Bruce and his adherents, that Prince was not idle in his retreat. About the beginning of April, he descended from the mountains, at the head of a body of men; which, increasing as he ad-

Heming. t. I. p. 225.

<sup>123</sup> Rymer, t. 2. p. 1043.

<sup>130</sup> Id. ibid. p. 226.

vanced, at last amounted to ten thousand. With A.D. 1207. this army he defeated Aymer de Valènce, Earl of Pembroke, at Cumnock, and a few days after Ralph de Monthermer, Earl of Gloucester; who flying to the castle of Ayr was there besieged. 124

Edward exasperated beyond measure at this in- Death of telligence, iffued his commands to all the forces of Edward I. his dominions, to come to him at Carlifle three weeks after Midfummer. But before that time, the dyfentery, with which he had been long afflicted, had rendered him fo weak, that he was confined to his chamber; and a report prevailed that he was dead. To disprove this report, he set out from Carlifle, July 3.; but was fo feeble, that he could travel only three miles; and having refted one day, he reached Burgh on the Sands about five miles from Carlifle, July 5., and there expired in his tent, July 7., in the fixty-ninth year of his age, and thirty-fifth of his reign 125. When he took leave of the Prince of Wales, he gave him (as is usual on such occasions) much good advice. In particular, he charged him, under the pain of incurring his paternal malediction, -never to recal the banished Gavaston, to fend his heart into the Holy Land,—to carry his body with the army into Scotland, and not to bury it till he had made a complete conquest of that country 126. What regard his fon paid to these injunctions, we shall see in the next section.

116 Walfing. p 93.

<sup>124</sup> Walfing. p. 93. Heming. t. 1. p. 237.

<sup>125</sup> Walfing. p.93. Heming. t.1. p.237, 238. Rymer, t.2. p.1059.

A.D. 1307. Character of Edward I.

Edward I., from the length and smallness of his legs, commonly called Long-Shanks, had, in other refpects, a very advantageous perfon, being remarkably tall, strong, and graceful. He had fine hair, yellow in his youth, darker as he advanced in life, and gray in his old age. His forehead was large, all his features regular, and his complexion fair when he was young, but browner in his manhood. He greatly excelled in riding, tilting, and in every martial and manly exercife. Hunting and hawking were his favourite amusements 127. Nor were his mental endowments inferior to his perfonal perfections. His excellent understanding and good fenfe rendered him one of the best legiflators, and greatest politicians, that ever filled the throne of England. His perfonal courage and military skill were equally conspicuous. He had a facred regard to justice, when he was not blinded byambition. In a word, he was industrious, frugal, fober, and chafte; a dutiful fon, a fond hufband, and a tender parent. But his character was not without its blemishes: he was too fond of power; and would probably have endeavoured to render himself absolute, if he had not stood so much in need of the love and affiftance of his fubjects in profecuting his ambitious fchemes. It was evidently this that compelled him fo frequently to confirm the charters; which he generally did with an ill grace, and to ferve fome particular purpofe. The ambition of extending his authority over all

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the ifle of Britain, was, in truth, the great blemish AD. 1397. of this prince's character, which betrayed him into many crimes and errors, and brought many calamities on both the British kingdoms. As his schemes for the reduction of Wales were successful, the cruelty and iniquity of them have been long forgotten. But his attempts on Scotland, having been more unfortunate, have appeared more criminal; and his greatest admirers cannot deny,—that he took an ungenerous advantage of the unhappy circumstances of the Scotch nation:—that he abused the confidence which they reposed in him; - and that he committed manyacts of injuffice and cruelty in endeavouring to establish his dominion over them. It seems indeed probable, that by labouring fo long, and fo earnestly, to pursuade the world of his right to the fovereignty of Scotland, he at length became perfuaded of it himfelf; and it must also be confessed, that the object was so desirable, and the probability of obtaining it fo great, that few ambitious princes could have refifted the temptation.

Edward I. was first married to the Princess His chil-Eleanor of Castille, by whom he had four fons and dren. eleven daughters. The three eldeft of thefe fons, John, Henry, and Alphonfo, died unmarried, long before their father; the youngest, Edward, survived, and fucceeded him. Four of the daughters of this marriage, Eleanor, Joane of Acres, Margaret, and Elizabeth, were married to the Earls of Bar and Gloucester, the Duke of Brabant and Earl

A.D. 130%, of Holland; fix of them died in their infancy; one of them, Mary, was a nun, and furvived her father. Edward's fecond queen was Margaret of France, by whom he had two fons, Thomas of Brotherton Earl of Norfolk, and Edmund of Woodstoke Earl of Kent, and one daughter, Eleanor, who died in her infancy.

History of Scotland.

ALEXANDER III. King of Scotland, with his queen, and a splendid train of his nobility, attended the coronation of his brother-in-law. Edward I. at Westminster, 10th August A.D. 1274. 128 At that time the greatest cordiality reigned between the two nations, as well as the two royal families. Soon after, the unhappy question about homage, as usual, occasioned some disquiet. But as both parties were then amicably disposed, this dispute was compromised, by permitting Robert Bruce Earl of Carrick to do homage in the name of Alexander, and by expressing it in general and ambiguous terms, to be on account of the lands and tenements which he held of the King of England without any specification. 129

Changes in the royal family of Scotland.

Margaret Queen of Scotland died about fix months after the had attended her brother's coronation; and feveral great changes took place in the royal family of Scotland in a few years'30. David, the youngest son of Alexander, died A.D. 1281.: and in that same year Margaret, his only daughter,

<sup>128</sup> Knyght. col.

<sup>129</sup> Rym. Fæd. tom. 2. p. 126.

<sup>130</sup> Ford. 1. 10. c.35.

was married to Eric King of Norway, and died A.D. 1307. A.D. 1283., leaving an infant daughter of the fame name 131. Alexander Prince of Scotland married Margaret, the daughter of Guy Earl of Flanders, A.D. 1283., and died in January A.D. 1284., without iffue 132. Thus, in a short time. this unhappy prince loft his queen, and all his children, having only one infant grandchild left.

Alexander III. after he had been ten years a Marriage widower, feeing his family fo weak, at the earnest and death request of his nobility, married Ioleta, daughter ander III. of the Earl of Dreux. But he was unhappily killed by a fall from his horfe, near Kinghorn, a few months after marriage, 16th March A.D. 1286., in the forty-fifth year of his age, and thirty-feventh of his reign. 133

Hardly any prince was more fincerely la- Lamented mented, or longer remembered, by his fubjects, by his fubthan Alexander III. of Scotland, both on account of the peace and prosperity they had enjoyed under his government, and of the deplorable calamities in which they were involved after his death.

The history of Scotland, from the death of Alexander to the death of Edward I. is fo interwoven with that of England, that it could not be separated from it, and hath been already related.

<sup>131</sup> Rym. Fæd. t.4. p.370. Ford. 1.10. c.37. 133 Rym. Feed. tom. 2. p.269. Ford. l. 10. c. 37.

<sup>123</sup> Ford. 1.10. C.40.

## SECTION III.

The civil and military history of Britain, from the accession of Edward II., A.D. 1307. to the accession of Edward III., A.D. 1327.

A.D. 1307. Advantages of Edward II. at his acceffion.

England, enjoyed many great advantages; which feemed to promife him the monarchy of Britain, and a glorious and happy reign. He was then in the twenty-third year of his age, at the head of a mighty army, flushed with many former victories, inflamed with the most violent national animosity against the Scots, with whom they had been about fifteen years at war, and animated with the most ardent desire of acquiring both riches and honour, by the complete conquest of their country. But it soon appeared that he was not possessed of talents to make a proper use of these advantages.

Edward marches into Scotland. Edward spent about three weeks at Carlisle, waiting for some of his forces, receiving the homage of his English barons and other military tenants of the crown, and giving orders about his father's funeral, and other matters. At length, August 1. A.D. 1307., he began his march into Scotland, directing his route towards Dumfries, having summoned the nobility of Scotland to meet him at that place, to perform their homage'.

Chron. de Lannercost.

Here he trifled away his time in receiving the A.D. 1307. fubmissions of such of the Scotch barons as obeyed his fummons, without taking any vigorous measures for the reduction of Robert Bruce and his followers, who were becoming daily more formidable.

As foon as Edward heard of his father's death, Gavafton he discovered his contempt of his own most recalled. folemn oaths, and of the dying injunctions of his illustrious parent, by recalling Piers Gavaston from banishment; and while he resided at Dumfries, he further betrayed his extravagant fondness for that pernicious favourite, by granting him, August 6. the whole earldom of Cornwall,

and all the great effates of his cousin Edmund,

which had lately fallen to the crown.2

Edward paid no greater regard to the last and Edward most earnest of his father's admonitions, to profe- returns to cute the war against Scotland with the greatest vigour, and never to defift until he had made an entire conquest of that country. For from the very beginning of his reign he allowed that war to languish, and advanced no further than to Cumnock, in the shire of Ayr, where he continued only a few days. Becoming weary even of the shadow of war, and impatient to embrace his returning favourite Gavaston, having constituted Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, guardian of Scotland, he disbanded a great part of his army, and returned to England in the beginning of September. 3

England.

3 Rymer, t. 3. p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Rymer, t. 3. p. 1, 2, 3. J. de Trokelow. M. Malmsburiens. p. 95.

A.D. 1307. Edward's liberality to Gavafton.

These first transactions of Edward's reign gave the people of England very unfavourable impreffions, both of the dispositions and abilities of their new king; and the events which followed ferved still further to confirm these impressions. As soon as the favourite Gavaston arrived at court, he was loaded with wealth and honours, and had the entire direction both of the King and kingdom. The faithful fervants of the late king were the first who felt the fatal effects of the favourite's unbounded fway. The chancellor, treasurer, barons of the exchequer, and judges of both benches, were all turned out of their places; and fome of them, particularly Walter de Langton, treasurer, imprisoned, and treated with great feverity 4. The places of these discarded ministers and judges were filled by the creatures of the favourite. Edward, not yet weary of conferring benefits on his beloved Gavaston, gave him a still stronger proof of his unbounded affection, by introducing him into the royal family and beflowing his own niece, fifter of the young Earl of Gloucester, upon him in marriages. Nay, when this infatuated prince failed to Boulogne, in January 1308., to celebrate his nuptials with the Princes Isabella, daughter of the King of France, to whom he had already been espoused by proxy, passing by the princes of the blood, and all the ancient nobility of England, he constituted Gavaston guardian of the kingdom in his absence,

5 Herning. vol.1. p. 245. Mon. Malmf. p. 96.

<sup>4</sup> Walfingham, p. 96. J. de Trokelowe, p. 4. Heming. t. 1. p. 244.

with more extensive powers than had ever been A.D. 1307.

granted to any former guardian. 6

Gavaston.

Such an aftonishing profusion of royal favour Misconwas enough to have excited envy against a person duct of of the greatest prudence and humility. But these virtues constituted no part of the character of this worthless minion. On the contrary, he was vain and infolent in the highest degree; and made the most oftentatious and provoking displays of his personal accomplishments, and of his power and riches. Some of the nobility he offended by his fatirical wit; fome he affronted by his superior address in tournaments, the favourite diversion of the great in these times: and he enraged them all by engroffing the royal favour and bounty, and depriving them of that share in the confidence and liberality of their fovereign, and in the management of public affairs, to which they thought themselves entitled by their birth and station?. Thus, while Gavaston was beloved beyond measure by his deluded fovereign, he was abhorred and hated with the greatest violence. both by the nobility and common people; who never could be prevailed upon to flew him the least respect, or call him by any other name than that of Piers Gavaston, though a ridiculous proclamation was issued by the King, commanding all men to give him the title of Earl of Cornwall in common conversation.

Mon. Malmf. p.98.

<sup>6</sup> Rymer, t. 3. p. 47. 53. Ypodig. Neustriæ, p. 499. 7 Walfing. p.97. J. Trokelowe, p. 6.

A.D. 1308. Edward's marriage and coronation.

Indignation of the nobility against Gavaston.

Edward returned from France on the 7th of February, accompanied with a fplendid train of French princes and noblemen, and was crowned, together with his young queen, in Westminster abbey, on the 25th of the same month.

Though Edward was now married to a young and beautiful princess, it foon appeared that she possessed a very small share of his affections; and that his fondness for his favourite was not in the least diminished. He bestowed upon Gavaston-all the rich prefents which he had received from the King of France at his marriage; he allowed him to plunder the treasury of one hundred thousand pounds, besides jewels left by the late King; and heappointed him to carry the crown. at the coronation, where he far outshone all the nobility, and even the King himfelf, in the fplendour and richness of his dress 10. These and many other marks which the King daily gave of his extravagant fondness for his favourite, inflamed the refentment of the nobility to the greatest height, and made them resolved to tear the infolent minion from behind the throne, and drive him out of the kingdom. Thomas Earl of Lancaster, the King's cousin-german, the richest and most powerful nobleman in the kingdom, was at the head of the discontented barons, who had a meeting in the refectory of Westminster abbey, a few days after the coronation, and petitioned the King to banish Gavaston

Walfing. p. 95, 96. Rymer, t. 3. p. 59.
 Rymer, t. 3. p. 63, &c. M. Westmonst. Contin.

out of the kingdom. But he declined giving any A.D. 1308. answer to this petition till after Easter, when the parliament was to meet ". The barons, being fensible that force alone could prevail upon the King to grant a petition fo contrary to his inclination, employed the interval in providing fuch a force; and had feveral meetings, at Ware, Northampton, and other places; in which they bound themselves by oath to stand by one another inprocuring the banishment of Gavafton, 12

The parliament met at Westminster on the 28th Parliaof April; to which the Earl of Lancaster, and the barons of his party, came, attended with fo great an armed force, that the King was in no condition to deny them any thing. Their demands, however, were more moderate than might have been expected. They infifted only, that Gavafton should be banished out of England for life; that he should depart out of the kingdom before Midfummer next, and take an oath never to return; without requiring the confifcation of his great estate, or calling him to account for the immense sums of the public money which he had converted to his own use 13. The King. though with extreme reluctance, confented to the banishment of his favourite, and granted his letters-patent to that purpose. 14

<sup>&</sup>quot; M. Westmonst. Contin.

<sup>12</sup> Chron. St. August.

<sup>12</sup> Trivit. Contin. p 5. Heming. p. 245.

<sup>14</sup> Rymer, t. 3. p. 8c.

A.D. 1308. Gavaston made lord lieutenant of Ireland.

As foon as the parliament was difinisfed, Edward gave his favourite fresh proofs of his unabating fondness, by granting him several large estates. both in England and Gascony 15; and when he found it impossible to retain him any longer near his person, without incurring both the censures of the church and the dangers of a civil war, instead of fending him into Gascony, as the discontented barons expected, he appointed him lord lieutenant of Ireland, and accompanied him to Bristol in his way to that kingdom 16. Gavaston spent about a year in Ireland, living in royal fplendour, and displaying his military skill and courage, of which he possessed a considerable share, in taking some caftles, and defeating some parties of the rebellious Irish. 17

A.D. 1309. Gavafton recalled.

In the mean time Edward bore the absence of his favourite with great impatience, and employed every art to pave the way for his return. He prevailed with the Pope to absolve Gavaston from the oath which he had taken never to return to England 3; and greatly foftened the refentments of his most powerful enemies by favours and promifes 19. When all things were thus prepared, the favourite was recalled, and the infatuated prince flew to meet him at Chefter, about the end of June 1309.20, and

<sup>15</sup> Rymer, t.3. p.87, &c.

<sup>15</sup> Id. ibid. p.92, 93. M. Malmf. Vita Edwardi II. p. 100.

Daniel's Hift. Ed. II. in Kenet's Hift. vol. 1. p. 204.

<sup>18</sup> Rymer, t. 3. p. 91.

<sup>19</sup> Id. ibid. p. 78. M. Malmf. p. 101.

<sup>20</sup> Leland's Collect. vol. 1. p. 248.

received him with the greatest transports of joy, A.D. 1309. and all the marks of the most fond affection. Edward had at this time fo far regained the confidence of his nobility and other subjects, by many great concessions which he had made them 21, that he prevailed with the parliament, which met at Stamford, July 26., to approve of Gavaston's return, and consent to his remaining in England unmolefted.

If Edward and his favourite had been capable Misconof becoming wifer by their past difficulties, they dust of Edward might have enjoyed their present tranquillity and Gamuch longer than they did. But being both equally vafton. vain and thoughtlefs, they abandoned themselves to the most extravagant demonstrations of joy. Nothing was to be feen at court but the most magnificent and expensive feasts, balls, and tournaments; at all which Gavaston made the most conspicuous figure, and eclipsed all the ancient nobility by the richness and splendour of his appearance, and the luftre of royal favour 22. Befides this provoking display of his prosperity, fo apt to excite envy, he inflamed the refentment of fome of the most powerful barons, by turning them into ridicule, and giving them opprobrious and diffraceful nicknames, calling the Earl of Lancaster, the first prince of the blood, and most potent nobleman in the kingdom, the Stageplayer; the Earl of Pembroke, Joseph the Jew; the Earl of Warwick, the Black dog of Ardene, &c.

A.D. 1309.

This imprudent conduct very foon produced its natural confequences, and Gavaston became the object of universal detestation. The discontented lords began to drawtogether, and appointed tournaments in feveral places, as a plaufible pretence for their meetings, which were in reality defigned for contriving the destruction of the favourite.23

A.D. 1310. Parlia. ments.

The King, in order to avoid the gathering ftorm, made a progress into the north, and called a parliament, to meet at York, on the 18th of October, in which Gavaston took his place as Earl of Cornwall. But the discontented and now confederated barons, pretending to dread fome danger to their persons from the power and treachery of the favourite, refused to attend this parliament; which, for that reason, was adjourned to meet at the fame place on the 3d of February A.D. 1310.24 The fame cause rendered this second meeting ineffectual. The King, who was in great diffress for money, being at length convinced that he could obtain no aid from his parliament, while the object of his affection, and of their deteftation, was in view, refolved to part with his favourite for a time, and fent him out of the way.

Change in the conftitution.

After the departure of Gavaston, the confederated lords no longer refused to come to a parliament, which met at Westminster in Lent 1310.25: but they came attended (contrary to a royal pro-

<sup>22</sup> Rymer, t.3. p. 208. 222, &c.

<sup>24</sup> Heming. t. I. p. 246.

<sup>4</sup> Id. ibid. Mon. Malmf. p. 104.

clamation 26) with fuch numbers of armed follow- A.D. 1310. ers, that they were entire masters both of king and parliament. This enabled them to make that temporary change in the conflitution, more fully related in the third chapter of this book; and of invefting twelve of their own number, under the title of Ordainers, with a kind of dictatorial authority, which they were to enjoy till Michaelmas in the year following; and the King granted a commission for chusing these ordainers on the 16th March 1310. 27

After Edward had made this great concession Edward to please the confederated barons, and the other resolves to business of this fession of parliament was ended, the war he began to turn his views northward, and to think of doing fomething in earnest in the war with Scotland, which had languished ever fince his accession to the throne. 28

profecute with Scotland.

If Edward had profecuted the war with Scot-Robert land, in the first year of his reign, with any vi- Bruce reduces a gour, the total and final conquest of that coun- great part try would, in all human probability, have been of Scotthe consequence. All the places of strength in that kingdom were already in his possession; the far greatest part of the nobility and people had fubmitted to the English government; the potent family of the Comyns, with fome others, had cordially embraced the English interest; and a long and dangerous fickness with which Robert Bruce, the new King of Scots, was feized at that

<sup>26</sup> Rymer, t. 2. p. 200. P.204. 220.

<sup>27</sup> Ryley, p. 526. Rymer, t. 3. 28 Rymer, t. 3. p. 222.

A.D. 1310. time, would have facilitated the fuccess of the enterprife. But Edward, by his hafty return into England, and the subsequent errors of his conduct, loft all these advantages, never to be regained. For as foon as Bruce recovered his health, he applied himfelf with great spirit to improve the favourable opportunity which the imprudence of Edward, and the distractions of the English government put into his hand; and by a feries of wife, vigorous, and fuccefsful measures, in the fpace of three years he reduced all Scotland, except a few fortresses, under his obedience.

Edward invades Scotland.

At length Edward fummoned all the military vasfals of the crown to meet him at Berwick, with their troops, on the 8th of September 1310., in order to an expedition into Scotland. This fummons was but ill obeyed; feveral of the confederated lords remaining in London to attend the twelve ordainers, who were employed in preparing their ordinances for the reformation of the government 29. Edward, however, marched into Scotland at the head of a confiderable army; and Bruce declining an engagement, and retiring into the north, he advanced as far as Linlithgow without feeing an enemy: but was foon obliged, for want of provisions, to return with his army to Berwick. He fpent the winter in this place, happy in the fociety of his beloved Gavaston, who had lately emerged from his retreat. 30

<sup>29</sup> Mon. Malmf. p. 105, 106. Heming. p. 247, 248. 30 Id. ibid.

Edward fent his favourite with an army into Scotland (in March 1311.), to gather laurels, and abate the general odium against him. Gavaston penetrated a great way into the country; but not being able to bring the Scots to an engagement, he returned without performing any action of eclat. After his return, Edward fet out for London to hold a parliament, which was fummoned to meet there on the 8th of August; and continued to fit till the 10th of October.

A.D. 1311. Gavaston's expedition into Scot-

In this parliament the famous ordinances com- Ordinanposed by the twelve ordainers were debated; and at length, with much reluctance, confirmed by the King, and fworn to by the lords and commons, and copies of them, under the great feal, fent to all the sheriffs of England. 31

firmed.

By one article of these ordinances, Piers Gavas- Gavaston ton was, for many crimes therein enumerated, to be banished for ever out of all the King's dominions, and to depart before the 1st of November next, under the penalty of being treated as a common enemy to the King and kingdom. 32

After his favourite was thus once more torn A.D. 1312. from him, Edward retired into the north, and took up his refidence at York. Unable to live long without his beloved Gavaston, he recalled him from Flanders, the place of his retreat 33; received him at his arrival with the greatest

Gavaston recalled.

in Bent-

J. de Trokelowe, p. 7, 8. 31 Mon. Malmf. p. 110-113. Brady's Hift. vol. 3. p. 102. 119. Append. No. 50, &c. 32 Mon. Malmf. p. 114, &c. 31 J. Trokelowe, p.8.

A.D. 1312. transports of joy; heaped new favours upon him; and published a proclamation, declaring that his banishment had been illegal. 34

Civil war.

This imprudent measure rekindled the refentment of the confederated barons; who immediately drew together, raifed an army, and, having appointed the Earl of Lancaster their general, directed their march northward 35. The confederates now received a great accession of strength, by the junction of the Earl of Warrenne to their party, and by the general diffatisfaction with the King, and rage against the favourite, which prevailed amongst the people.

Edward and Gavaston retire.

> Bayellon Southern.

In the mean time, the King and Gavaston spent their time in pleasure, and in the most profound fecurity, at York, without taking any measures to meet or diffipate the approaching florm. At length, when they heard that the confederate army was near, they retired first to Newcastle, and then to Tinmouth, where they embarked with a fmall retinue, and arrived at Scarborough. The King having put Gavaston into the castle of that place, which was esteemed impregnable, marched on to York, in order to raife an army, to make head against his enemies. 35

Gavaston befieged in Scarborough castle, and taken.

AD.III Garalton

belling.

As foon as the Earl of Lancaster received intelligence of this, he marched from Newcastle, and. detaching the Earls of Pembroke and Surry, and

transports

<sup>34</sup> Rym. Fæd. t.3. p.298.

<sup>35</sup> Walfing. p. 100. J. Trokelowe, p. 10. Mon. Malmf. p. 118.

Walfing. p. 101. Mon. Malmf. p. 119. J. Trokelowe, p. 16.

Henry de Percy, with a fufficient body of troops, A.D. 1312. to befiege the caftle of Scarborough, he posted himself between that place and York, to prevent all communication between the King and Gavafton 37. The King, trembling for the fafety of his favourite, and unable to relieve him by force, fent his royal mandate to the befiegers, commanding them to defift from their enterprise 33. But flighting this command, they pushed the siege with vigour; and Gavaston, finding the place destitute of provisions for a long defence, capitulated on the 10th of May; and furrendered himself to the Earl of Pembroke and Henry de Percy, on condition that he should be kept fafe in their custody till the first of August next; that in the mean time endeavours should be used for bringing about a general accommodation; but if that did not take place, he should then be restored to the castle of Scarborough, in the same condition in which he left it: and for the observation of these conditions thefe two noblemen pledged all their lands. 39

The Earl of Pembroke having thus got the Gavaston person of the hated Gavaston into his possession, executed. conducted him to the caftle of Deddington, near Banbury, in Oxfordshire. Here the Earl left him in the custody of his fervants, and went to spend a few days with his lady, who refided in that neighbourhood 40. In the mean time, on Saturday 17th

deawasts

<sup>37</sup> J. Trokelowe, p. 17. 38 Rym. Fæd. t.3. p. 327, 328.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Rym. Fæd. t. 3. p. 334. Mon. Malmf. p <sup>40</sup> Walfing. p. 101. T. de la More, p. 593. Mon. Malmf. p.120.

A.D. 1312. June, very early in the morning, the castle of Deddington was befet by a great body of armed men, commanded by Guy Earl of Warwick; and Gavaston finding his guards neither able nor willing to defend him, furrendered himself into the hands of that earl, his most furious and implacable enemy, who carried him to his caftle of Warwick. As foon as this event was known, the Earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and Arundel, the chiefs of the confederacy, repaired to Warwick; and after some consultation they agreed to put their prisoner to death, as a traitor and public enemy, without any regard to the capitulation, and without any formal trial. In confequence of this resolution, on the 1st July, the three earls with their followers conducted the wretched Gavaston to Blacklow-hill, near Warwick, where they beheld his head fevered from his body by the hands of the executioner, with some degree of that favage pleasure which party-rage is too apt to inspire on such occasions. 41

Peace between Edward and the confederated barons.

Edward, when he received the news of his beloved favourite's death, was filled with inexpressible grief, and with the most furious resentment againstits authors42. He hastened to London, and applied himself with uncommon spirit, to collect money, and raife an army: but as he had loft the affections of the greatest part of his subjects, his en-

lathe mean time, on Saturd

Dugdalis Baron. vol. 2. p. 44. Walfing. p. 101. T. de la More, p.592. Mon. Malmf. p. 123. J. Trokelowe, p. 18.

<sup>42</sup> Mon. Malmf. p. 126.

deavours were not very fuccessful; and he foon A.D.1312. heard, that the confederated barons were approaching the capital at the head of a much more powerful army than he could bring into the field. This disposed him to listen to milder counsels; and the Count of Evreux, the Queen's uncle, Cardinal Arnaud, the Pope's nuncio, and the Earls of Gloucefter and Richmond, interposing their good offices, a treaty was fet on foot between the King and the barons. While this treaty was depending, the Queen was delivered of her eldest son. Prince Edward, at Windfor, on the 13th of November 43. This happy event is faid to have put the King into fuch a good humour, that it contributed greatly to facilitate the fuccess of the negotiations; and a pacification was concluded, December 20., on the following terms: "That the barons should come " before the King in Westminster-hall, and ask " his pardon on their knees; that they should " restore the horses, arms, jewels, plate, &c. " belonging to Gavaston, which they had seized " at Newcastle; and that a full pardon should be copassed in the next parliament to the barons and "their adherents, for the death of Gavaston, and all other crimes and mildemeanors." 4\*

Though the armies on both fides were difband- A.D. 1313. ed, and fome appearance of tranquillity restored by this pacification, the reconciliation between the

The King and Queen visit the court of France.

<sup>43</sup> Rymeri Fæd. t.3. p.358.

<sup>44</sup> Id. ibid. p. 366, 367, 368. Walfing. p. 102. J. Trokelowe, p.19, 20. Mon, Malmf. p.129-131.

A.D. 1313. King and the barons was far from being cordial. Edward, who had not yet forgot his refentment for the death of his favourite, was in no hafte to call a parliament, and grant the pardon he had promised; and the barons, jealous of his ill intentions, kept at a distance from court, and in a posture of defence. Whilst affairs were in this unfettled state, Edward, having constituted his nephew the Earl of Gloucester guardian of the kingdom, embarked at Dover for France, May 23., with his-Queen, and a spendid retinue, to be present at the knighting and coronation of Lewis King of Navarre, his brother-in-law, on June 3., at Paris 45. Before his departure a parliament had been called to meet at Westminster July 8., and he sent over a commission to the Bishops of Bath and Worcester, and the Earls of Gloucester and Richmond, to hold that parliament 46. But his absence rendered this meeting abortive, and increased the discontent and jealoufy of the barons, who now became impatient to obtain the promifed pardon, and began to talk of having recourse to arms.

King and barons reconciled.

ADERES.

The King and Ouren

> בסעול כל Prances

The King arriving from France July 16., and being made fenfible that it was dangerous to trifle any longer with the discontented barons, summoned a parliament to meet, September 23., at Westminster 47. At this parliament, by the mediation of the Queen, the prelates, and the Earl of Gloucester, the pacification between the King and

<sup>45</sup> Rymeri Fæd. t. 3. p. 393.

<sup>47</sup> Id. ibid. t. 3. p. 416.

<sup>46</sup> Id. ibid. p. 422. Mon. Malmf. picto-vil

the barons was completed. The barons came into A.D.1314. Westminster-hall, and implored the King's pardon on their knees: the King published a general pardon to the barons and all their adherents. October 16., and the day after he granted particular pardons, under the great feal, to the Earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and Warwick, and about five hundred knights and gentlemen of their party, by name43. The King feafted the Earl of Lancaster and the barons of his party, and was feasted by them; and as a still more substantial proof of their reconciliation, the barons and knights of shires granted the King a twentieth. and the citizens and burgeffes a fifteenth, of their moveables, to enable him to carry on the war against Scotland. 49

Robert Bruce, who was now generally acknow- AD. 1314. ledged by his own fubjects, and by foreign na- State of tions, as King of Scots, having made the best ad-Scotland. vantage of these dissensions, which reigned so long in England, had reduced all Scotland under his obedience before the beginning of the year 1314. except the caftles of Stirling, Dunbar, and Berwick. He had alforest order to the civil government, and authority to the laws; extinguished the English faction, revived the spirits, and united the hearts, of the Scots, in defence of their king and country. Nay, this wife and intrepid prince had even made feveral bold incursions into England. and returned loaden with the spoils of his enemies. 50

Fed. t.s. p.a.m. abs- are-

<sup>43</sup> Rymeri Fæd. t. 3. p. 443. 445. 447.

A.D.1314. Edward prepares for a formidable invafion of Scotland.

It was now high time for the English, as foon as their internal tranquillity was restored, to think feriously of avenging these injuries, and recovering the dominion of Scotland, which they had loft by their intestine broils. With these views, Edward applied with great vigour to the raising of money, collecting provisions, arms, ships, and forces, for a formidable expedition into Scotland, which might decide the fate of that kingdom at a fingle blow, and reduce it once more under the English vokes1. He inlisted troops in Flanders, and other foreign countries; fent for his military vaffals in Gascony, Ireland, and Wales; and fummoned all the warlike power of England to meet him at Newcastle upon Tyne, three weeks after Easter 52. The Earls of Lancaster, Arundel, Surry, and Warwick, only fent their vaffals, not thinking fit to trust themselves in the King's power53. But in general this fummons was fo well obeyed, that Edward found himfelf at the head of the greatest army that ever marched out of England into Scotland, attended by an incredible number of carriages, loaded with arms, provisions, and baggage of all kinds 54. Every thing being ready, he moved from Berwick, June 18., directing his march towards Stirling caftle, the relief of which was the immediate object of this mighty armament, and arrived by eafy marches, and without any opposition, within three miles of

<sup>51</sup> Rymeri Fæd. t. 3. p. 432. 463. 475.

<sup>52</sup> Id. ibid. p. 476, 477, &c.

<sup>53</sup> Walfing. p. 104. 54 Mon. Malmf. p. 146, 147.

that place, on June 24. Here the Scotch army A.D. 1314. presented itself to view, drawn up on the north banks of the little river Bannock, directly in the road to Stirling, 55

Scotland had been fo long in a ftate of war, and Number fo often defolated by the English armies under and dispo-Edward I., that it was now thinly inhabited; and the Scotch King Robert, with all his efforts, could not collect army.

above thirty thousand men to defend his crown and kingdom against so formidable an invasion. With this army, however, being the greatest he could raife, he refolved to fland his ground, depending on their determined courage, and declared resolution to die or conquer. He chose his ground with great judgment, having a mountain on his right, a morass on his left, and a small river in front. To render the approach of the enemies' cavalry, in which they abounded, still more difficult and dangerous, he had dug many pits along the banks of the river, into which he had driven stakes, sharpened at the head, and very artfully covered them with turfs and rulhes 56. There were fome skirmishes between detached parties of cavalry on the evening in which the armies came in fight; in one of which the King of Scots gave a proof of his firength, dexterity, and courage, which greatly raifed the hopes of his army, by cleaving Henry de Bohun to the chin, with a battle-axe, at the head of his troop 57. But the day being too far spent for a general engagement, both armies

<sup>55</sup> Mon. Malmf. p.146. 147. Walfing. p. 105.

<sup>56</sup> T. de la More, p. 594. 57 Mon. Malmf. p. 147, 148.

A.D. x314. retired to their ground, and waited with equal impatience the return of light.

Battle of Bannockburn.

This short night is said to have been spent in a very different manner by the different armies. The English, despising an enemy whom they had fo often conquered, confident of victory from their fuperior numbers, and abounding in proprovisions of all kinds, spent the hours in mirth and jollity. The Scots, fensible that the moment which must determine the fate of their country, and make them and their posterity either a free or a dependent people, was approaching, employed the awful interval in acts of devotion, and in mutual exhortations to conquer nobly or die bravely. As foon as the dawn appeared, both armies began to put themselves in order of battle. The Earl of Gloucester, who commanded the English cavalry, full of youthful ardour, and disputing the post of honour with the Earl of Hereford, advanced to the attack with too much precipitation, fell among the covered pits. was thrown from his horse, and killed 58. This difaster threw the cavalry into some confusion: and Sir James Douglas, who commanded the van of the Scotch army, making a furious attack upon them at the fame inftant, completed their diforder, and put them to a total rout 59. The infantry, observing with astonishment, the defeat of their horse, and seeing another army, as they imagined, marching along the hills, (which

<sup>38</sup> T. de la More, p. 594. Mon. Malmf. p. 147, 148.

<sup>19</sup> Id. ibid. p. 149.

was only the waggoners and boys in the Scotch A.D. 1214 camp, furnished with standards to make the appearance of an army at a distance,) were seized with a panic, and fled, without striking a blow, or coming near an enemy. In this deplorable fcene of confusion the unhappy Edward discovered no want of personal courage, and was with much difficulty perfuaded to guit the field of battle, and fave himfelf by flight 60. By the most moderate accounts of contemporary historians, there fell in this battle, or were taken prisoners, of earls, barons, and knights, 154, of gentlemen 700, and of common foldiers above 10,000 61. As this great. defeat happened early in the morning on Midfummer day, at the distance of eighty miles from any place of fafety, very few of the flying army would have escaped with life and liberty, if many of the Scotch foldiers had not preferred the plunder of the English camp (where they found an immense booty) to the pursuit of their enemies62. Such was the fatal defeat of Bannockburn, which for fome time greatly funk the spirits of the English nation, established Robert Bruce on the throne of Scotland, and restored the long-disputed independency of that kingdom. 63

Edwardremained about three weeks at Berwick, Unhappy whither he had escaped, and then set outfor York, flate of to hold a parliament, which was fummoned to

England.

<sup>60</sup> Mon. Malmf. p. 151. J. Trokelowe, p. 27.

<sup>61</sup> Walfing. p. 205. T. de la More, p. 594.

<sup>62</sup> Mon. Malmf. p. 152.

<sup>42</sup> Walfing. p. 106. Mon. Malmf. p. 152, 153.

A.D. 1314. meet there on August 15.64 England was at this time a scene of great distress and misery; dispirited by defeat, distracted by faction, depopulated by famine, and defolated by an army of Scots, who had made an incursion into the northern counties. But the Earl of Lancaster, and the barons of his party, who had not been in the late battle, instead of flying to the relief of their bleeding country, took that opportunity to promote their own ambitious views; and the King being unable to make any resistance to their will, they turned all his officers and fervants out of their places, which they took to themfelves, or bestowed on their dependents 65. The remainder of this unfortunate year was fpent in fruitless overtures for peace, and in exchanging prisoners. Bruce now received his wife, his daughter Marjory, then his only child, his fifter Christina, and all the lords and gentlemen who had been prisoners in England since the time of Edward I., in exchange for some of the earls, barons, and others, who had been taken at the battle of Bannockburn. 66

A.D. 1315. State of England.

Though the whole power was now in the hands of the Earl of Lancaster and his partisans, the nation reaped no advantage from their administration. The famine still continued to rage with great violence; and the imprudent methods used by a parliament affembled the 20th January, to remedy that evil, by fetting a fixed price on all kinds of

provisions,

<sup>64</sup> Rymer, t. 3. p. 493. Walfing. p. 106. 65 Mon. Malmf. p. 154. Rymer, Fæd. t. 3. p. 489, &c. Walfing. p. 106. Mon. Malmf. p. 155. 109111

provisions, rather increased it or. The Scots, who A.D. 1215. were afflicted with the fame calamity, fought relief by making incursions into England; and though fome troops were fent into the north, yet no effectual care was taken to prevent them. 68

The Scots were fo much elated by their late Expedition fuccesses, that they began to entertain hopes of of Edward conquering another kingdom. The Irish hadlong Ireland. borne the English voke with impatience; and thinking this a favourable opportunity to throw it off, they invited Edward Bruce, brother to the King of Scots, to come over to their affiftance with a body of troops, and promifed to make him King of Ireland. Edward, naturally ambitious and enterprifing, joyfully accepted the invitation; and landed near Carrickfergus, May 26., with a finall but felect army of 6000 men; and being joined by some Irish chieftains, he had several

Bruce into

At a parliament held at Lincoln in the months A.D.1316. of January and February, the King having once Lancamore confirmed the famous ordinances, and fub- firian party mitted to every condition imposed upon him by nant. the Lancastrian faction, an expedition against Scotland was refolved upon; the Earl of Lancaster was declared the chief of the King's council, and general of the army, which was to affemble at Newcastle on 8th of July. 73

actions with the English, with various success. 69

<sup>67</sup> Walfing. p. 106, 107. J. Trokelowe, p. 30, 31.

<sup>68</sup> Walfing. p. 106, 107. 69 Annals of Ireland in Camden. Trivet. Contin. p. 28. Walfing. p. 107.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Rymer. Fæd. t.3. p.557-563.

A.D. 1316. Expedition of Robert Bruce into Ireland.

It is not a little furprifing, that while he was threatened with so formidable an invasion from England, Robert Bruce should think of leaving his kingdom, and invading Ireland. This renders it highly probable, that there was fome foundation for what was furmifed by the enemies of the Earl of Lancaster; that there was a secret correspondence between that Earl and the King of Scots 71. Howeverthismay be, Robert made an expedition into Ireland this year, to affift his brother in the conquest of that kingdom; but a dreadful famine raging in that country, and a great mortality breaking out in his army, he was obliged to return without effecting any thing confiderable, leaving his brother and his trufty followers to ftruggle fome time longer with these difficulties.

Intended expedition against Scotland disappointed. While the King of Scots, with the flower of his nobility and fighting men, were absent, Scotland seemed to invite an invader, and present the English with a favourable opportunity of recovering all their losses. King Edward seems to have been disposed to seize this opportunity; for he came to Newcastle at the time appointed for the rendezvous of the army. But the Earl of Lancaster, with the barons of his party, and their followers, not appearing, the intended invasion never took effect. 72

A.D.1317. Attempt of the Pope to The war which had continued fo long between England and Scotland, had prevented the English for many years from taking any part in the affairs

<sup>71</sup> Mon. Malmf. p. 173.

<sup>72</sup> Walfing. p. 107. Rymer. Fæd. t. 3. p. 568.

of the Holy Land; though Edward II. had af- A.D. 1317. fumed the crofs, a little before his father's death. But the Pope about this time projecting a new peace becroifade, refolved, if possible, to bring about a tween pacification between the two British kingdoms, and Scotthat Edward might be at liberty to fulfil his vow. land un-With this view he published, by his own authority, a truce between them for two years, threatening those who did not observe it with excommunication 73; and fent over two cardinals to negotiate a peace. These cardinals arriving in England in July, and having waited on Edward at Nottingham, proceeded towards Scotland. But Robert Bruce, being diffatisfied with the letters which they had fent to acquaint him of their coming, in which they gave him only the title of Governor of Scotland, would not fuffer them to enter his kingdom, paid no regard to the truce which the Pope had published, and equally slighted the excommunication and interdict which followed 74: a proof that this prince was possessed of a spirit superior to the wretched and flavish superstition of the age in which he lived!

The diffensions in England between the royal party and that of the Earl of Lancaster were again sensions revived, and raged at this time with the greatest violence. The royalifts did not fcruple to accuse that earl of treason, for not coming to the rendezvous at Newcastle the former year, and for not

Civil difbetween the royal and Lancastrian parties.

<sup>73</sup> Rymer. Feed. t. 3. p. 594. 611. 635.

<sup>74</sup> Id. ibid. p. 707. 727.

A.D. 1317, attending two meetings of parliament this year, the one at Clarendon, the other at Westminster; by which these meetings were rendered abortive75. The Earl excused himself by alleging that his enemies at court had formed defigns against his life. These political animosities were much inflamed by a family quarrel, which broke out at this time between the Earl of Lancaster and his lady, whose cause was warmly espoused by the royal party. Alice Countess of Lancaster, only child of Henry Earl of Lincoln, had been the greatest heiress perhaps that ever was in England, and brought her husband an immense accession both of wealth and power; but being diffatisfied with his conduct, the made an elopement on Monday, May 9., and was received and protected by John de Warrenne Earl of Surrey, at his castle of

A.D. 1318. The Earl of Lancaster keeping his forces still on The Lanfoot, the meeting of parliament was put off from castrian

Riegate 76. This was furiously refented by the Earl of Lancaster, who slew to arms, and took several castles belonging to the Earl of Surrey, and some belonging to the King 77. But when a civil war was thus kindled, the two cardinals above mentioned, the Earl of Pembroke, and some other noblemen, interposed; and, by their mediation, an accommodation was patched up, by which all differences were referred to a parliament, appointed to meet at Lincoln January 27. next year. 78

78 Id. ibid. p. 668.

attending

<sup>75</sup> Mon. Malmf. p. 177. 76 Walfing. p. 108, 109.

<sup>77</sup> Rymer. Fæd. t. 3. p. 672, 673.

time to time; and it did not actually affemble A.D.1318. till the month of July, at Northampton ?. At this meeting the Earl carried every point to his vaile. mind. The famous ordinances were again confirmed, and a standing council, of eight bishops, four earls, and four barons, appointed, who were constantly to attend the King by turns, four every quarter; without whose advice he was to perform no act of government. 80

party pre-

As Robert Bruce owed his crown, and the Berwick Scots the recovery of their independency, to the recovered difcords and factions in England, fo they still Scots. continued to make advantage of these discords; for, on the 2d of April this year, they recovered the important town and castle of Berwick, and pushed their destructive incursions into England, as far as Yorkshire. 12

After the pacification of Northampton, the Eng- Intended lish began to turn their eyes northward, and to invasion of think of putting a stop to the career of their ene-Scotland frustrated. mies. With this view a parliament was held at York in October 12. While this parliament was fitting, Edward received the joyful news, that the English, under the command of John Lord Bermingham, had obtained a complete victory over the Scots in Ireland, on the 14th October, near Dundalk; and that Edward Bruce, with almost all

<sup>79</sup> Rymer, vol. 3. p. 696. 712.

se Id. ibid. p. 722. Mon. Malmf. p. 185, 186.

<sup>81</sup> T. de la More, p. 594. Meremuth. p. 53. Walfing, p. 111, 112. Fordun, 1.12. c. 37.

J. Trokelowe, p. 43. Rymer, vol. 3. 82 M. Westm. Contin. p. 733, &c.

A.D. 1318.

his followers had fallen in the field of battle <sup>83</sup>. He would gladly have taken advantage of this favourable event, and invaded the Scots in their own country, before they had recovered from their confternation occasioned by this great difaster. He even collected some forces for this invasion; but the barons declining to engage in this expedition at so advanced a season of the year, he was obliged to lay aside the design. <sup>84</sup>

A.D. 1319. The English besiege Berwick.

Though Edward was very far from being a warlike prince, his animofity against the Scots was fo great, and his defire of revenging the dreadful defeat of Bannockburn fo ftrong, that as foon as any degree of tranquillity was restored at home. he always refumed his defigns against Scotland. Having spent the winter in the north, he held a parliament at York in the fpring of this year; in which an expedition against Scotland was refolved upon. The barons and knights of shires granted an eighteenth, the citizens and burgeffes a twelfth, and the clergy a tenth, to defray the expences of it; and all the military vaffals of the crown were fummoned to appear at Newcastle, June 10.85 As all parties were now, in appearance at least, united, the troops which came to the rendezvous formed a very numerous army, which, marching from Newcastle, invested Berwick by land, September 1., while a fleet from the Cinque-ports blocked it up by fea. 84

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> T. de la More, p. 594. Trivet. Contin. p. 29. Mon. Malmf. p. 187. Walfing. p. 111.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> Mon. Malmf. p. 190. Rymer, vol. 3. p. 787.

<sup>%</sup> Mon. Malmf. p. 192.

The Scots did not attempt the relief of Berwick; A.D. 1319. but formed a defign of furprifing and carrying off the Queen of England, who lived in great fecurity, make an with a flender guard, at a village near York. The incursion execution of this defign was committed to the renowned Sir James Douglas, with a body of chofen troops, who marched into England with great fecrecy and expedition. But their intention being discovered, the Queen was removed to a place of fafety; and the Archbishop of York, collecting the militia of the country, marched out September 20., and attacked the Scots. The prelate, and his undisciplined followers, were routed with great flaughter by Douglas and his hardy veterans. 37

In the mean time the royal army before Ber- Siege of wick made little progress in the fiege of that Berwick place; which was foon after raifed, each party throwing the blame of this miscarriage on the other 88. Commissioners from England and Scotland met at Newcastle, December 6., and, on the 21st of that month, concluded a truce between the two kingdoms for two years 89. Thus ended this unfortunate campaign, which funk the character of King Edward still lower in the eyes of his fubjects, and contributed to revive the rage of party, which had been concealed, but not extinguished.

Edward, after the conclusion of the truce with A.D.3120. Scotland, fummoned a parliament to meet at York Parliament

appointed.

<sup>87</sup> Walfing. p. 112. Mon. Malmf. p. 192, 193, 194.

<sup>88</sup> Mon. Malmf. p. 194.

<sup>89</sup> Rymer, vol. 3. p. 803-805. 809. 816.

A.D. 1320. but did nothing.

Edward's journey to France.

in January; but the Earl of Lancaster refusing to attend, it broke up without doing any business of importance. 90

Though it was not uncommon in those times for one king to hold territories of another by feudal tenure, nothing could be more inconvenient. This not only gave occasion to frequent disputes, but obliged the royal vassal to leave his own kingdom, to attend the court of the fuperior of these territories, to swear fealty, and perform his homage, at the accession of every new lord. The kings of England still held the duchy of Guienne, and the county of Poictou, of the kings of France; and Philip the Long having lately, mounted that throne, he fummoned his royal vaffal of England to attend his court, and would admit of no excuse. Edward finding himself under a necessity of leaving his kingdom in its present unsettled state, embarked for France on June 10... and returned from thence on July 22.91

Parliament. Soon after the King's return, a parliament was called, to meet at Westminster, October 6., in which several good laws were made, for restoring the internal police of the kingdom, which had been much relaxed by the late disorders, and for vindicating the dominion of the crown of England over the narrow seas, which had been invaded by the Flemings 92. But these falutary works of peace were soon

<sup>\*\*</sup> Rymer, vol.3. p.826. 835. 838, 839, 840.

<sup>91</sup> Id. ibid. p. 861. 92 Riley Placit. Par. p. 401.

fucceeded by the horrors of civil war and de- A.D. 13200 vastation.

Edward, naturally incapable of long application A.D. 1321. to ferious bufiness, fond of pleasures and amuse- Confedements, and addicted to the attachments of private against the friendship to a degree which is hardly credible, Spenfers.

had fome time ago fet his affections on a new favourite. This was Hugh Spenfer, chamberlain of the household, a young gentleman of anancient family, an ample fortune, and an amiable perfon; but extremely debauched, insufferably insolent, and infatiably covetous. Edward had married him to Eleanor, the eldest fifter, and one of the three coheiresses, of the late Earl of Gloucester; with whom he obtained almost the whole county of Glamorgan, as her share of that great inheritance 93. But this was far from fatiating his unbounded avarice: he encroached on the shares of his two fifters-in-law, and on various pretences invaded the rights and properties of almost every baron and gentleman in the neighbourhood of his estates. This behaviour foon rendered him the object of general terror and detestation, and obliged all who either felt or feared his oppreffions to conspire his ruin, in order to prevent their own of. The Earl of Hereford with many other lords in the marches of Wales, entering into a confederacy in the beginning of this year, raifed an army, and committed dreadful ravages on

<sup>.93</sup> Dugdale Baron. vol. 1. p. 389.

<sup>94</sup> Mon. Malmf. p. 204, &c. Walfing, p. 113.

A.D. 1921. Spenfer's estates in Glamorganshire, and other western counties. The confederates, to strengthen their party, and complete the ruin of their enemy, entered into an affociation, on June 28., with the Earl of Lancaster and his partisans; and they all. to the number of about fifty, subscribed an instrument, binding themselves to pursue the two Spenfers, father and fon, till they had driven them out of the kingdom, or got them into their hands 95. The elder Spenfer, whose name was also Hugh, was a person respectable for his age and wifdom, and had long maintained a fair and honourable character; but, by fharing too largely in the fruits of his ion's favour with the King, he was involved in the fame odium, and exposed to the same accusations with his son 95. The confederates, who, by the accession of the Earl of Lancaster and his party, were become very powerful, advanced with their army towards London, destroying the houses and plundering the estates of the elder Spenfer in their way. When they arrived at St. Alban's, they fent a meffage to the King, demanding the banishment of the two Spenfers; to which he returned this mild answer, that the elder Spenfer was beyond feas in his fervice, and the younger at fea guarding the cinqueports; and that they could not be legally banished without a trial. The confederates, far from being fatisfied with this answer, advanced with their

96 T. de la More, p. 594.

Spenfer's

<sup>95</sup> Walfing. p. 113. J. Trokelowe, p. 48, 49. Tyrrel, vol. 4. p. 280.

army, and took poffession of London, whose citi- A.D 1221. zens generally favoured their cause. 98

Edward was at this time holding a parliament The Spenat Westminster, which he had summoned to meet fers bathere July 15., to put an end to these disturbances in an amicable way. But the confederated lords, instead of attending the parliament, to which they had been fummoned, held frequent confultations, amongst themselves in London; in which having drawn up a fentence of forfeiture and banishment against the two Spensers, father and son, they brought it down to Westminster-hall, accompanied with an armed force, and got it confirmed by parliament 98. In the same manner they obtained from the King in parliament, August 19., a full pardon to themselves and their followers. for all the treafons, murders, and felonies, which they had committed, from the 1st of March to that day. After this the confederated barons feparated and returned home. 99

Though Edward found himself under a neces- Civil war. fity of fubmitting in this manner to the imperious dictates of the confederated barons, he bore the voke with much uneafinefs; and an incident happened foon after which greatly inflamed his refentment. The Queen going to Canterbury to perform fome acts of devotion, fent her marshals to the caftle of Leeds, belonging to the Lord Badlesmere, to take up her lodgings, and provide for

<sup>97</sup> Walfing. p. 114. J. Trokelowe, p. 48-52.

<sup>93</sup> Tyrrel, vol.4. p. 282.

<sup>90</sup> Mon. Malmf. p. 210, 211. Walfing, p. 114. Rymer, vol. 3. p. 391.

A.D. 1321. her reception; but the Lady Badlesmere resused, first, the marshals, and afterwards the Queen herfelf in person, admission into the castle 100. The haughty princess, enraged at this affront, flew back to London, and excited the King to avenge the indignity which had been offered her. Edward, who had many reasons to be offended with Badlesmere, hastily raised some troops, besieged the castle of Leeds, and obliged it to surrender on the last day of October; and, to strike terror into his enemies, he commanded the governor, and eleven inferior officers of the garrison, to be hanged. 101

Successes of Edward against the barons.

The Spenfers, hearing of this spirited and successful exertion of the royal authority, adventured to return to England: their banishment was declared illegal; and they encouraged the King to purfue vigorous measures, and to take vengeance on all his enemies 102. Many other powerful barons, as the Earls of Kent and Norfolk, the King's younger brothers, Pembroke, Richmond, Arundel, Surrey, Athol, Angus, &c. disliking the violent measures of the confederates, and resenting the force which had been put upon them in the late parliament, repaired to the royal standard; and Edward foon faw himfelf at the head of a very powerful army. That he might give his enemies no time to renew their confederacy and prepare for their defence, he marched with great expedi-

Walfing. p. 115. J. Trokelowe, p. 52.

<sup>1</sup>el Walfing. p. 115. J. Trokelowe, p. 53.

<sup>102</sup> Rymer, vol. 3. p.907.

tion about the middle of December, towards the A.D. 1121. borders of Wales. The royal army met with little opposition in its progress; the castles surrendered as foon as they were fummoned, and the barons, furprised and unprepared, either fled, or furrendered themselves, and were thrown into different prisons. The Earl of Hereford, and some others, with about three thousand followers, escaped into the north to join the Earl of Lancaster. 103

As foon as the Earl of Lancaster had heard that A.D. 1222 the King was raifing an army, he began to prepare Lancaster for his own defence. With this view, he had called a meeting of his partifans in the north, at prisoner. Doncaster, 29th November last 104. No longer concealing his connections with the King of Scots, he fent John de Moubray and Roger de Clifford to that prince, who entered into a formal alliance with the confederates, engaging to support them with the whole power of his kingdom as foon as the truce expired. In confequence of this alliance, he fent a body of troops, under Thomas Randolf Earl of Murray, and the Lord James Douglas, two of his best generals, into Northumberland in the beginning of this year 105. Earl of Lancaster having collected his own numerous followers, being joined by the Earl of Hereford, and depending on a powerful affiftance from Scotland, no longer despaired of success, and

Edward

<sup>103</sup> Knyghton, col. 2540. Walfing. p. 116. Mon. Malmf. p. 214.

<sup>104</sup> Rymer, vol. 3. p. 899. 105 Rymer, vol. 3. p. 926, 927. Mon. Malmf. p. 217. J. Trekelowe, p. 59.

A.D. 1322. marched with his army to obstruct the passage of the royalists over the Trent at Burton. The King having attempted to force a paffage at this place in vain, for three days successively, at length passed at a ford a few miles higher; and on March 10., the two armies came within fight on the fame fide of the river. But the Earl, either intimidated by the great numbers and resolute countenances of the royalifts, or thinking it imprudent to hazard a battle without his whole force, retired without fighting, and marched northward to meet the Scots, and fome other troops, who had not yet joined him. This was a fatal resolution; for this retreat looking like a flight, discouraged his followers, and made thein defert in great numbers. On the 16th March, when he came to Boroughbridge, he found an army on the other fide of the river, under the command of Sir Simon Warde and Sir Andrew de Harcla, ready to dispute the pasfage. The Earl of Hereford was killed in attempt. ing to force the bridge; and the Earl of Lancaster being repulfed in endeavouring to pass the river at a ford, returned into the town of Boroughbridge, and was there taken next morning (with about a hundred barons and knights, and a much greater number of gentlemen), and carried prifoner to York. In this manner, these formidable confederates, who a few months before were predominant, were now either killed, captivated, or difperfed. 106

> Walfing. p. 116. Mon. Malmf. p. 218-222. J. Trokelowe, p.53-58. Edward, 16

Edward, now triumphant over all his enemies, A.D. 1222. arrived at Pontefract; and the Earl of Lancaster Lancaster being brought thither from York, was, after a executed. fhort trial, condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; but, by the King's lenity, was appointed to be beheaded 107. On Monday, March 22., this once potent Earl, was carried out of Pontefract, his own chief refidence, mounted on a lean horse, without a bridle, in a fordid dress, to a hill about a mile distant, and there beheaded, with the same circumstances of mean and savage infult which he had used towards Gavaston a few years before 108: a fate unworthy of his royal blood and princely fortunes, but not altogether unmerited, by his factious, turbulent, and rebellious difposition. About eighteen other barons and gentlemen of the party were executed, many escaped beyond feas, and a great number were confined in different prisons 109. Of the many great estates which were forfeited on this occasion, some few were bestowed on the Earls of Pembroke, Richmond, and other barons, who had supported the royal cause; but the far greatest part of them was fwallowed up by the blind abandoned avarice of the younger Spenfer. 110

If Edward had been capable of making a right Edward's use of his present victory, by exercising severity

imprudent use of his victory.

Walfing, p. 116. J. Trokelowe, p. 61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10†</sup> Walfing. p. 117. Rymer, vol. 3. p. 926.

Walfing. p. 119. T. de la More, p. 596. J. Trokelowe, p. 63. Knyghton, col. 2541.

<sup>110</sup> Rymer, vol. 3. p. 940, 941. Dugd. Bar. vol. 1. p. 392, 393.

A.D.1322.

towards a few of the most criminal and dangerous of the vanquished party, showing mercy to all the rest, and thereby gaining their affections, and dividing the spoils with an equal and prudent hand amongst the loyal barons, he would have laid a solid soundation for the suture peace and tranquillity of his reign. But by suffering his rapacious savourite to seize almost the whole, he drove his enemies to despair, and left his friends in discontent.

Parliament. In a parliament which met at York on the 2d May, such of the famous ordinances (so strenuously supported by the Lancastrian party) as were inconsistent with the just rights of the crown were repealed, the late sentence against the Spensers declared illegal, and an expedition against Scotland resolved upon. The barons and knights of shires granted a tenth, the citizens and burgesses a fixth of their moveables, and the clergy sive pence in the mark of their annual revenues, to defray the expences of that expedition.

Expedition into Scot-

The rendezvous of the army was appointed to be on July 24., at Newcastle; from whence they marched into Scotland 112. The prudent Bruce did not think fit to hazard an engagement with the English, now united amongst themselves, and slushed with their late victories; but retiring before them, and carrying away all kinds of provisions; Edward and his army were soon reduced to great distress, and obliged to return into England. 113

annavior or more

Rymer, vol. 3. p. 944. 952. Walfing. p. 116, 117.

<sup>112</sup> Id. ibid. p. 952, 953.

The Scots, following the rear of the retreating A.D. 1322. army, plundered the baggage, took the Earl of Richmond and fome others prisoners, almost furprifed the King himfelf at Beland abbey, and carried their ravages to the gates of York. 114

Andrew de Hercla, who had lately been ad- Andrew vanced to the earldom of Carlifle, and the go-de Hercla executed. vernment of the northern counties, for his good fervice in taking the Earl of Lancaster, now entered into fome fecret engagements with the King of Scots of a fuspicious nature, for which he was condemned and executed as a traitor 115. Thus ended this very bufy year, in the former part of which Edward had been favoured with a very uncommon flow of fuccess and prosperity.

Both the British nations being at length tired of A.D. 1323. this tedious and destructive war, negotiations for Long truce a long truce or peace were fet on foot about the beginning of this year 116. After many meetings and Scotbetween the English and Scotch commissioners, at Newcastle and other places, a truce was concluded on March 30. 1323., to continue for thirteen years, by which Robert Bruce, though not directly acknowledged King of Scotland, was left in full poffession of thatkingdom 117. Some endeavours were foon after used to change this truce into a perpetual peace; but without effect. 115

Walfing. p. 117. J. Trokelowe, p. 63, 64. Muremut. p.9. 115 Rymer, vol. 3. p. 973. 980. Walfing. p. 118. Rymer, vol. 3. p. 999. vol. 4. p.4. J. Trokelowe, p. 65, 66.

<sup>116</sup> Rymer, vol. 3. p. 1001-1004. Rymer, vol.3. p. 1022. Adam Muremuth, p.60. Chron. Hen. 118 Rymer, vol.4. p. 14. de Blanforde, p. 705, 706. England

A.D. 1323. Symptoms of approaching troubles.

England being now at peace with all her neighbours, and within herfelf, Edward and his favourite flattered themselves that they had overcome all difficulties. But this was only a deceitful calm; and a discerning eye might have observed feveral figns of an approaching from. The Spenfers, though wallowing in wealth, and basking in the sunshine of royal favour, could hardly appear in any place, without meeting with fome indication of the public hatred. A band of desperadoes, under the conduct of one Robert Lewer, ravaged the estates of Hugh, the father, lately created Earl of Winchester, and even attempted to feize his person. Several plots were formed to furprize the royal castles, where the state prisoners of the Lancastrian party were confined in order to fet them at liberty; and the famous Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, one of the most daring and dangerous of that party, made his escape out of the tower of London, and got fafe to France. 119

The King of France fummons Edward to his court.

Philip The Long, King of France, having died in January 1322., was succeeded by his brother Charles The Fair, who, according to custom, summoned the King of England to come and perform his homage for his French dominions. Edward, not having complied with this summons, received one more peremptory in August this year, in all the necessary forms of law, requiring him to appear at Amiens on July 1. 1324., at surthest. Some disputes which had lately arisen in Guienne, rendered

this

More, p. 596. Walfing. p. 120. Mon. Malmf. p. 224, &c.

this affair more ferious, and made the King of A.D. 1323. France infift the more politively on Edward's performing his homage in perfon. 120

While the day appointed for performing the A.D. 1324. homage was at a diffance, Edward and his fa- Ambassavourite enjoyed themselves in great tranquillity; to France, but when it drew near, they became uneafy. A parliament was held at Westminster in the beginning of Lent, which being confulted on the expediency of the King's journey into France, advised to fend an honourable embaffy to endeavour to procure a delay. In confequence of this advice, the Earl of Kent, and the Archbishop of Dublin. were fent ambaffadors to the court of France 121. The ambaffadors were honourably entertained. but had no fuccess in their negotiations. In the mean time the disputes in Guienne had been succeeded by hostilities, which were pushed with fpirit and fuccess by the French; and Edward began to make fome preparations in England for an expedition into that country, for the defence of his territories. When things were come to this crisis, a private intimation was given to the English ambassadors, that if the Queen of England would come over, the would prove the most successful mediatrix, and procure an accommodation on the most favourable terms. The Bishop of Winchester, then at Paris, took a journey to communicate this propofal to the court of England. 122

<sup>120</sup> Rymer, vol. 4. p. 74. 98. 121 Walfing. p. 120, 121. 172 Rymer, vol.4. p.140. Walfing. p. 121. Edward, M 2

A.D. 1325. Queen Ifabella fent to France. and makes a treaty.

Edward, glad of any expedient to avoid a war, and fuspecting no danger in this measure, complied with it, and fent the Queen to visit her brother the King of France, and negotiate an accommodation between two princes to whom she was fo nearly related 123. The first negotiations of this royal ambaffadress were attended with all the fuccess which could have been expected from She, foon after her arrival, concluded a truce; and, on May 31., a definitive treaty of peace 124. By this treaty, the disputed duchy of Guienne was to be put into the hands of the King of France, who engaged to restore it to Edward as foon as he had done homage for it in person; and it was stipulated, that this ceremony should be performed at Beauvais, on the 29st August. Though fome of the terms of this treaty were not perfectly agreeable to Edward, yet, rather than lofe Guienne, or engage in a war, he confirmed it. \$25

Spenfer opposes the King's voyage to France.

Hugh Spenfer, the King's favourite, was now in a most terrible dilemma. His aversion to this voyage to France had been the real cause of all the King's delays; and he had strong reasons for this aversion. On the one hand, he was no stranger to the fecret enmity of Queen Isabella against him; and therefore durft not accompany his mafter to the court of France, where she might have opportunities of executing hervengeance. On the other hand, if he staid behind, he was afraid of falling

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> Adam Muremuth, p.63. 124 Rymer, vol. 4. p. 153-156.

<sup>125</sup> Id. ibid. p. 156.

a victim to the public hatred, when no longer pro- A.D. 1325. tected by the presence of his sovereign 126. For these reasons, Spenfer had always opposed this voyage with the greatest violence. But a parliament, which met at London on June 25., having advised the King to execute the treaty, he seemed at length determined, and actually began his journey. He did not long perfift in this refolution, fo difagreeable to his favourite; for, when he arrived at the abbey of Langedon, near Dover, he fell fick, or pretended fickness, and fent to France to obtain a fhort delay. 127

> his foreign to his fon, and fends

When Edward and his favourite were in this Edward perplexity, a new and unexpected overture came furrenders from the court of France, that, if the King of dominions England would bestow his French dominions on his fon Edward Prince of Wales, the King of him to France would accept of the homage of that prince. France. and grant him the investiture of these territories. This propofal, by the perfuation of Spenfer, was eagerly embraced by Edward, and executed with a rapidity which is hardly credible. The King conveyed all his French dominions to his fon Prince Edward, at Dover, on September 10.: the prince failed from that port on the 12th, and did his homage to the King of France, at Beauvais. on the 14th of the same month 128. But the unhappy King Edward had foon reason to repent of this precipitation.

<sup>126</sup> Mon. Malmf. p. 238. 127 Rymer, vol. 4. p. 163. Du Tillet Recueil des Traités. Rymer, vol.4. p. 165, 166. Walfing. p. 121. T. de la More, p. 592. Mon. Malmf. p. 239.

A.D. 1325. The Queen refuses to return to England.

If the dark defigns which now began to be difclosed were really formed before the Queen left England, and those successive overtures from the court of France were in confequence of them, it must be confessed, that never any plot was laid with deeper policy, or executed with greater art: and a much wifer prince than Edward might have fallen into the fnare. However this may be, it now appeared, that Queen Isabella had far other ends in view than making peace between her brother and her husband: for, when that was accomplished, and she was invited to return home, fhe plainly declared, she never would return till Hugh Spenfer was banished from the court and kingdom. 129

The Queen's intrigue with Mortimer.

This declaration was like a clap of thunder to Edward and his favourite; and their consternation was foon after much increased by the intelligence brought them by the Bishop of Exeter from the court of France. That wife and loval prelate, who had been fent by Edward as guardian and counfellor to the Prince of Wales, having observed, that the Queen of England was continually furrounded with the fugitives and exiles of the Lancastrian faction, and having even discovered the infamous and criminal nature of her connections with Roger Mortimer, who had lately made his escape out of the tower of London, he hastened home in disguise to inform his injured master of these discoveries. 130

130 Mon. Malinf. p. 240.

<sup>129</sup> Walfing. p. 122. Mon. Malmf. p. 240, 241.

Oueen and fon.

Edward, greatly alarmed, both as a king and A.D. 13250 husband, wrote, in the most earnest manner, to the Queen and Prince to return home, and to the efforts to King of France to fend them back. He called a recover his council of his prelates and nobility to meet at Westminster, November 10., for their advice; and all the bishops agreed to write, in the strongest terms, to the Queen to return with the Prince her fon 131. But all these importunities were to no purpose. The cruel and perfidious Isabel, who had already injured Edward in his bed, had formed a plot to deprive him of his crown, perhaps of his life.

Though the King of France had not the virtue A.D. 1326. and generofity to crush those plots which were Prince forming in his court against his unhappy brotherin-law, he did not think fit openly to countenance to Philippa and support them. This obliged Isabel and her accomplices to feek the protection of fome other prince, to enable them to execute their defigns. Edward was on friendly terms with the fovereigns of Spain, Portugal, and Flanders, which prevented the conspirators from applying to any of these powers, and obliged them to have recourfe to William Count of Hainault and Holland. A negotiation was commenced, and in a little time concluded with that prince, who engaged to furnish the Queen with a small fleet and some troops, to enable her to make a descent upon England; in

Contracted of Holland.

<sup>131</sup> Rymer, vol. 4. p. 180, 181, 182. T. de la More, p. 598. Adam Muremuth, p. 65. Mon. Malmf. p. 242, 243. M A

A.D. 1326. return for which favour, a marriage was contracted, between the Prince of Wales and Philippa, the count's fecond daughter. 132

Edward's preparations.

Edward was not ignorant of these preparations which were making for an invalion of his kingdom, and of the correspondence which was carried on between the confpirators abroad and the malecontents at home; and did what he could to fecure himfelf, both against his foreign and domestic enemies. Orders were fent to all the fea-ports, to fearch all passengers for letters, and to the sheriss to feize all suspected persons 133. The warden of the cinque-ports, and the admirals of the north and fouth, were ordered to have their fleets ready to oppose a descent 134. All the military tenants of the crown were commanded, by proclamation, February 8., to have their followers in readiness: and foon after the prelates received a like command. Orders were also issued to apprehend the emissaries of the Queen and Prince, and the fpreaders of false reports against the King. 135 But all these royal mandates were very ill obeyed, and in many places entirely flighted.

The Queen invades England.

The Queen and her accomplices having fpent the fummer in making preparations for their intended expedition, embarked on board a small fleet at the port of Dort in Holland; and, after a fformy passage, arrived September 24., at Orewell haven.

<sup>132</sup> T. de la More, p. 598.

<sup>1</sup>d. ibid. p. 187, 188, &c.

<sup>135</sup> Id. ibid. p. 200. 202.

<sup>133</sup> Rymer, vol. 4. p. 183. 186, &c.

near Walton, in Suffolk 136. Besides the Queen and A.D. 1326. Prince, there came over in this fleet the Earl of Kent, who had been betrayed into this conspiracy against his king and brother, Roger de Mortimer, the great mover of this enterprise, with 2757 men at arms, commanded by John de Beaumont, brother to the Count of Hainault. 137 A fmall force to invade fo great a kingdom, and dethrone fo great a king! But they brought with them a whole army of political lies; which did incredible execution, rendered the unhappy Edward odious and contemptible in the eyes of his fubjects, and made the deluded people look on the perfidious Isabel and the profligate Mortimer as the most illustrious patriots and deliverers of their country.

The Queen, foon after her landing, published an The Queen artful manifesto, declaring, That she intended no harm to any but the Spenfers, and their creatures; that the fole defign of her expedition was, to ease joined by the people of their burdens, to reform the diforders of the government, and improve the liberties of the church 138. In a little time she was joined by the Earls of Norfolk, Leicester, Pembroke, and other barons; and by the Bishops of Norwich. Hereford, Ely, and Lincoln, with their followers, who composed a numerous and powerful army; with which she advanced in pursuit of the King 139.

publishes a manifesto. and is many.

<sup>136</sup> Walfing. p. 123. Anglia Sacra, vol. 1. p. 366.

<sup>137</sup> Walfing. p.123. M.Malmf. p.243.

<sup>138</sup> Knyghton, col. 2764. Ypod. Neuft. p. 508. Walfing. p. 124. 139 Walfing. p. 123. Ypod. Neuft. p. 507. T. de la More, p. 598. Adam Muremuth, p. 66.

A.D. 1326. Edward leaves London.

Edward was at London when he received the news of the Queen's landing; from whence he iffued a proclamation, September 28., commanding all his fubiects to make war upon and deftroy these invaders, except the Queen, Prince, and Earl of Kent; and published a reward of 1000l. for the head of Mortimer 140. Having attempted in vain to arm the citizens of London in his cause. he left that city, accompanied by the two Spenfers, chancellor Baldock, and a flender retinue, directing his march towards Briftol, where he hoped to raife an army to oppose his enemies. 141

**Violences** of the Londoners.

As foon as the King left London, the mob of that place affembled in great multitudes, and proceeded to the most outrageous acts of violence, plundering and murdering all whom they fuspected of having any connection with the Spenfers, or attachment to the King. Amongst others, they feized the Bishop of Exeter, dragged him to the crofs in Cheapfide, cut off his head, and threw his body into the river. 142

Edward flees into Wales.

In the mean time the wretched King, abandoned almost by all the world, and closely purfued by a detachment of the Queen's army, durst not stay in Bristol; but leaving that city under the command of the elder Spenfer, he passed over into Wales, in hopes of finding more loyalty among the ancient Britons. 143

<sup>140</sup> Rymer, vol.4. p. 231—233. 141 Walling. p. 123.

<sup>142</sup> T. de la More, p. 599. Walfing. p. 124.

<sup>143</sup> Adam Muremuth, p. 67. Walfing. p. 125.

Briftol was immediately befieged, and in a few A.D. 1326. days furrendered; by which Hugh Spenfer, the father, Earl of Winchester, fell into the hands taken. of his enemies; and the Queen, with her whole army, coming to Briftol on October 26., this venerable nobleman, in the ninetieth year of his age, was, the day after, without any formal trial, hanged upon a gibbet, and his body cut in pieces: and thrown to the dogs 147. So much had civil rage hardened the hearts, and inflamed the paffions, of the humane and generous English!

At the same time and place Edward Prince of Prince of Wales was declared regent of the kingdom by the Wales proprelates and barons in the Queen's army; which regent, foon after marched to Hereford, where it continued about a month 145. Here the Earl of Arundel was condemned and executed as a traitor. though his chief crime feems to have been his having contracted an alliance with the Spenfers. by marrying his eldeft fon to a daughter of Hugh the younger. 146

The King, after his departure from Briftol, Edward having made an unfuccessful attempt to raise an taken. army in Wales, embarked for Ireland, in hopes of executed. finding there some refuge from the pursuit of his enemies. But after beating about for feveral days in the Severn fea, contending with contrary winds and flormy weather, he relanded near Swanfea,

Spenfer

Leland's Collectanea, vol. 1. p. 673. Walfingham, p. 125. 145 Rymer, vol.4. p. 237. T. de la More, p. 599.

<sup>146</sup> Knyghton, p. 2545.

A.D.1326. and concealed himfelf, with a few followers, in the monastery of Neath 147. His retreat was soon discovered; and he fell into the hands of Henry Earl of Lancaster on November 16., who conducted him, first to Monmouth, from whence he was removed to Kenelworth caftle 148. With the King was taken his chancellor Robert Baldock. and in a neighbouring wood, his most obnoxious and hated favourite, Hugh Spenfer. This last was conducted to Hereford, where the Queen and Prince lay with their army; and on November 24. he was there hanged on a gibbet fifty feet high: his head was fent as an agreeable prefent to the citizens of London, who fet it with great triumph upon the bridge 149. Baldock, being a prieft, efcaped immediate execution; but foon after died in great mifery, in the prison of Newgate, of the fevere usage which he there received. 150

State of England.

England was at this time a scene of great confusion: government was dissolved, the courts of justice shut, and lawless violence every where reigned. The mob of London, and of other cities, who were called the riflers, plundered and murdered whom they pleafed, without controul. 151

A.D. 1327. deposed.

The Queen and Mortimer, by whose direction Edward II. all affairs were conducted, now began to discover another part of their plot; which was to depose

<sup>147</sup> Rymer, vol. 4. p. 238, 239. 148 Walfing. p. 126. 149 Walfing. p. 126. Mon. Malmf. Mon. Malmf. p.244. 15e Walfing. p. 126. 151 M. West. Contin. Walfing. p. 125.

the King, whom they had got into their hands, A.D. 11275 and place the Prince of Wales upon the throne, who being but fourteen years of age, was entirely under their management. With this view, they called a parliament, in the name of the Prince, as guardian of the kingdom, to meet at Westminster January 7. As foon as the parliament met, which confifted entirely of the accomplices and favourers of the Queen, the deposition of the King. and the elevation of the Prince of Wales to the throne, were brought upon the carpet. But these questions were far from being debated with that calmness which their importance required: the house was every day surrounded by the London mob, and every thing conducted with clamour and violence. At length, on Tuesday the 12th January, the Prince was feated on the throne; and a charge, digefted into fix articles. exhibited against the King; for which he was deposed from his royal dignity, and the Prince proclaimed king in his stead 152. The articles of this charge, confidering by whom it was brought, were not of fo high a nature as might have been expected, confifting of alledged incapacity for government; negligence; spending his time in triflingamusement; violating some of the immunities of the church; banishing, disinheriting, and putting to death many noblemen, meaning those of the Lancastrian faction 153. On this general charge, without any proof, or any opportunity of answer-

Neustriæ, p. 308.

A.D. 1327. ing for himfelf, was this unhappy prince divested ed of his crown.

Commiffioners fent to the deposed king.

When the news of the King's deposition was brought to his cruel and perfidious queen, she counterfeited the most violent and inconsolable grief, shedding a flood of tears, and even falling into fits; and the Prince (probably with more fincerity) declared that he never would accept of the crown in his father's lifetime without his confent. To remove these scruples of the Prince. and render this whole transaction the more plaufible, the parliament appointed a deputation of their number to attend upon the King at Kenelworth, to intimate to him the fentence of his deposition, and procure his confent 154. The bishops of Hereford and Lincoln, two of this deputation, and the King's most inveterate enemies, were first fent into his presence; and having by threats and promifes, brought him to a feigned submission. the other parliamentary commissioners were introduced. As foon as the wretched Edward heheld them, he funk down to the floor in a fwoon. from whence being recovered, the deputies performed their office; to which the King replied, That he was in their power, and submitted to their will 155. Judge Truffell, who attended the commiffioners, in a formal manner, in name of the prelates, earls, barons, and people of England, as their procurator, renounced all homage, fealty, and

proof, or any onno

<sup>154</sup> Walfing. p. 128. T. de la More, p. 600.

<sup>155</sup> Knyghton, p. 2550.

obedience to Edward 156; and then Sir Thomas A.D. 1327. Blount, high steward, breaking his staff, and declaring all the King's officers discharged from their fervice, this uncommon ceremony ended, and with it the unprosperous reign of Edward II., on January 20. 1327., after it had continued nineteen years, fix months, and fifteen days.

That we may not have occasion to resume this Treatment mournful subject, we shall attend the degraded of the demonarch to his grave, referring the other public King. transactions of this year to the succeeding reign, to which they most properly belong. Edward, after his deposition, was for some time committed to the custody of his cousin Henry Earl of Lancaster, who treated him with great tendernefs and humanity. But this was by no means agreeable to the dispositions and designs of the Queen and Mortimer, who therefore took himout of the hands of that nobleman, April 3., and put him into the custody of Thomas Lord Berkeley, John de Mautravers, and Sir Thomas Gournay, who were to keep him each a month, by turns 157. Even these new keepers were not equally favage, the Lord Berkeley treating him with much more humanity than the other two, who probably defigned to break his heart by their hard usage 158. They hurried him from castle to castle in the night-time, thinly clothed, and without any covering to his head 159. Mautra-

<sup>156</sup> Knyghton, p. 2550. Mon. Malmf. p. 244.

<sup>157</sup> T. de la More, p. 600. Walfing. p. 127. 158 T. de la More, p.603. Walfing. p.127.

<sup>159</sup> T. de la More, p.600.

A.D. 1327, vers one day commanding him to be shaved with cold and dirty water, the fallen monarch was fo much affected with this indignity, that he burst into tears, which bedewing his face, he faid, with a smile of grief, "See, I have pro-" vided clean and warm water, whether you " will or not." 160

Murder of King Edward.

While this wretched prince was fuffering these and many other infults from the hands of his cruel keepers, a great change was gradually working in the fentiments of his late fubjects in his favour. The people of England had been wrought up into the most violent rage against the weak, mifguided Edward, as a cruel and execrable tyrant, and into the highest admiration of the Queen and Mortimer, as angels fent from heaven for their deliverance. But when the true characters of these last, and the criminal nature of their union, came to be better known, the people began to open their eyes, to fee they had been deluded, and to pity the fufferings of their wretched fovereign. In confequence of this, feveral schemes were formed by the people of Briftol, the Dominican friars, and others, for fetting Edward at liberty 161. But these schemes served only to hasten the cruel fate of this unhappy prince. For the Queen and Mortimer, not thinking themfelves fafe while he was alive, fent orders to their tools, Gournay and Mautravers, to dispatch him immediately. These well-chosen instruments of

160 Anonymi Hift. p 833.

<sup>161</sup> Leland. Col. vol. 2. p. 475, 476. Walfing. p. 127.

cruelty obeyed this command; and feizing the A.D. 1527. opportunity when the King was at Berkeleycastle, and the Lord Berkeley confined at Bradley by fickness, they threw the King upon a bed, and thrust a red-hot iron through a horn into his fundament, which made him fill the whole castle with his shrieks, and soon put an end to his life by the most exquisite torments 162. Thus perished Edward of Cairnarvon, on the 21st September 1327., in the forty-third year of his age.

Edward II. is faid to have borne a great refem- Character blance to his illustrious father in the stature, of Edstrength, and beauty of his person; but unhappily the refemblance was not fo great in the qualities of the mind. Though not remarkably deficient in personal courage, he had no talents for war, nor was he better qualified for the conduct of political intrigues, being passionate, talkative, and irresolute. He was guilty of many follies, but of few vices; and spent his time rather in a frivolous than in a criminal manner. But the most striking feature in this prince's character, was his unbounded and inviolable attachment to his two fucceffive favourites, Gavaston and Spenser. This was the real cause of all the calamities of his reign, the miferies of his life, and the violence of his death. For these unworthy favourites, by their imprudence, infolence, ambition, and avarice, excited univerfal hatred and indignation, and brought ruin upon themselves and their too indulgent master.

162 T. de la More, p. 603. Walfing. p. 127. Edward VOL. VII.

A.D. 1327. Children of Edward II. Edward had, by his Queen, Ifabel of France, two fons and two daughters, viz. Edward his eldeft fon and fucceffor, born at Windfor, 13th November 1312.; John, his youngest fon, born at Eltham, 1st August 1316., died at Perth, unmarried, in 1334.; his eldest daughter, Jane, born in the tower of London, and married to David Bruce King of Scotland; and Eleanor, born at Woodfoke, and married to the Duke of Guilders.

History of Scotland. ALL the most important events in the history of Scotland, from the accession of Edward II. to the long truce A.D. 1323., are interwoven with that of England, and have been related. The short interval between that and the time of his death was employed by the illustrious King Robert Bruce, in regulating the internal police of his kingdom, and securing the succession of his crown to his only son David, then an infant; and failing him, to Robert Stewart, the only son of his daughter the Princess Marjory. 163

Fordun, 1.13. c.12.

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## SECTION IV.

reversed the attainders which had been usified

The civil and military history of Britain, from the accession of Edward III., 24th January A.D. 1327., to the accession of Richard II., 21st June A.D. 1377.

THE reign of Edward III. may be faid to A.D. 1327. have commenced on 24th January 1327. Accession as on that day his peace was proclaimed in Lonof Eddon, which in those times was the first act of ward III. royalty in each reign '. He was crowned in Westminster abbey, on 1st February, by the Archbishop of Canterbury. 2 doing something

The parliament which had deposed Edward II. was ftill fitting, and appointed a council of regency, consisting of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York; the Bishops of Winchester, Worcester, and Hereford: the Earls of Lancafter, Norfolk, Kent, and Surry; the Lords Percy, Wake, Ingham, and Rofs. The Earl of Lancaster was declared chief of this council, and guardian of the young King's person, who was little more than fourteen years of age. But notwithstanding this appointment of a regency, the King and all his authority were in the hands of the Queen and Mortimer 3. The fame parliament

Regency appointed by parliament, &c.

> o coleval Rueland

barrdoned

Rymer, vol. 4. p. 243-245.

<sup>2</sup> Id. ibid. p. 244. Walfing. p. 126.

Heming. t. 2. p. 270. Leland's Collection, vol. 2. p. 476.

A.D. 1327. reverfed the attainders which had been passed some years before against the late Earl of Lancafter and his adherents 4: confiscated the estates of the Spenfers and their creatures; granted the fum of 20,000l. to the Queen to pay her debts; and affigned her a jointure of 20,000l. a year, an immense sum in those times. The Queen and her favourite appropriated to themselves the far greatest part of the prodigious treasures and estates of the Spenfers, and were very foon as much and as univerfally hated as their former proprietors.

The citizens of London pardoned.

As the citizens of London had contributed fo much to bring about the late revolution, they were rewarded with a pardon of all the acts of violence which they had committed, and with a new charter containing many ample privileges 5. A peace was concluded with France, which put an end to the war in Guienne, which had been made an engine to ruin the late unhappy King.6

Invasion of England by the Scots.

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It is highly probable, that the internal tranquillity of the new government would not have been of long continuance, if the attention of all parties had not been engaged by a threatened invasion from a foreign enemy. Though the truce between England and Scotland was not yet expired, Robert Bruce, thinking it disfolved by the deposition of the King with whom it had been made, and looking upon this as a favourable opportunity of mak-

<sup>4</sup> Rymer, vol. 4. p. 258, 259.

<sup>5</sup> Rymeri Fæd. t.4. p.245. 257, 258.

Rymer, vol. 4. p. 264-266. 280.

ing fuch an impression upon England as would A.D. 1327. procure him an honourable peace, raifed an army,

and prepared for an invasion.

The English administration, after attempting Expedition invain to bring about an accommodation, likewife of Edprepared for war, and raifed a gallant army of in the fixty, fome fay one hundred thousand men, at the north. head of which appeared the young King, full of martial ardour. The march of this army was retarded fome time at York, by an unfortunate quarrel which happened there between the English archers and the foreign troops under John de Hainault, in which feveral perfons were flain on both fides8. This quarrel being at last composed, the army marched northward 10th July, and arriving at Durham on the 13th, received intelligence that an army of Scots had passed the Tyne, and committed dreadful ravages all over the country. Edward having rested and refreshed his army at Durham a few days, fet out, July. 18, in quest of those destroyers. But though he fometimes discovered where they were, by the fmoke of burning villages, and other marks of defolation, he could not overtake, or bring them to an engagement. The Scotch army, commanded by the two illustrious chiefs, Randolph Earl of Moray and Lord James Douglas, confifted of about twenty thousand men, unincumbered with baggage, and all mounted, four thou-

<sup>7</sup> Froiffart, l. I. c. 16.

<sup>8</sup> Id. ibid. c. 17. Leland Collect. v. 2. p. 475. Walfing. p. 127. Knyghton, col. 2551.

A.D. 1327. fand of them on good horses, the rest on little galloways, which enabled them to elude the purfuit of a much more powerful enemy.

Edwardendeavours fight the Scots.

Edward, after spending some days in this fruitto find and less chace, marched northward, passed the Tyne. and posted his army in the route by which he expected the Scots would return into their own country 10. But after spending a week in this position, in great want of provisions, without hearing any thing of the enemy, he repassed the river. He was now fo much at a loss for intelligence. that he promifed a pension of 100l. a-year to him who should bring the first account of the situation of the Scotch army". The hopes of this reward fent many adventurers in fearch of the Scots; and one Thomas Rokesby having discovered them, brought intelligence that they were encamped, at no great distance, on the fouth banks of the river Were. Edward marched in great hafte towards the enemy, determined to give them battle that very day; but, on his arrival, found, to his inexpressible vexation, that they had chosen their ground fo well, that it was dangerous to attack them. Impatient for an engagement, he fent a challenge to the Scotch commanders to march out and decide the quarrel in a fair and open field. The fiery Douglas would perhaps have fallen into this fnare, if he had not been restrained by the cooler

<sup>9</sup> Froiffart, 1 1. c. 18. 10 Ib. ibid. c. 19.

<sup>17</sup> Rymer. vol.4. p. 312. Froisfart, 1.4. c. 19.

counfels of his colleague, Randolph, who replied, A.D. 1327. that he paid no regard to the defires of an enemy. 32

to furprife

The Scots, not thinking themselves perfectly Douglas fafe in their present situation, marched in great attempts filence, in the night-time, fome miles farther up Edward. the river, and took possession of a more advantageous camp; and the English army following them the next day, encamped on the opposite bank 13. While the two armies lay here facing one another, the Lord Douglas formed the bold defign of furprifing the King of England in the midst of his army. With this view, having by fome means got the word, he entered the English camp about midnight, August 4., attended by two hundred of his most daring followers, and advanced near the royal tent without discovery; but when he was on the point of feizing his prey, the alarm being given, and fome of the King's guards making a desperate resistance, he escaped in the dark to a place of fafety; and Douglas, having killed about three hundred of the enemy, returned to his friends with little loss 14. Scots, after this disappointment, resolved on a retreat, which they effected on August 6. By decamping filently in the night, and marching with great expedition, they got the flart of the English army fo far, that it was thought in vain to purfue them 15. Edward, greatly mortified at the escape

<sup>12</sup> Froissart, l. 1. c. 19.

<sup>13</sup> Id. ibid.

Froissart, 1. 4. c. 19. 14 Knyghton, p. 2552.

<sup>15</sup> Froissart, l. 1. c. 19.

A.D.1327. of his enemies, marched first to Durham, and then to York, where the army separated. 16

Peace between England and Scotland.

The young monarch breathed nothing but war and revenge against the Scots; but the Queen and Mortimer had other defigns in view. They imagined it would be a great advantage and fecurity to themselves to have a peace with Scotland, and obtain the friendship, and in case of need, the affistance, of its King. On the other hand, Robert Bruce being almost worn out with infirmities, was earneftly defirous of leaving his infant fon at peace with all his neighbours, especially with England. Commissioners from both powers met at Newcastle in November, and settled the articles of a treaty of peace between England and Scotland 17. By one article of this famous treaty, the King of England renounced, for himself and his fucceffors, all claim to any fuperiority over the kings or kingdom of Scotland, and agreed to deliver up all evidences of fuch fuperiority 18. By anotherarticle a marriage was concluded between David Prince of Scotland and the Princess Jane. Edward's eldest fifter. In confideration of these great advantages, Bruce agreed to pay to England the fum of 30,000 marks; which is faid to have been divided betwen the Queen and Mortimer. Though this treaty was exceedingly unpopular in England, and greatly increased the public hatred against the well-known authors of it; yet they had

<sup>16</sup> Froiffart, l. 1. c. 23.

<sup>17</sup> Rymer, t.4. p. 328. 335-338.

<sup>18</sup> Rymer, t.4. p. 338-410.

ftill influence enough to get it confirmed by A.D. 1328. parliament in April A.D. 1328. 19

Though Edward was not yet fixteen years of Royal age, his marriage with Philippa, daughter of Wil- marriages. liam III. Count of Hainault and Holland, was folemnized at York, January 24., with great pomp<sup>20</sup>. In confequence of an article of the peace with Scotland, the Queen-mother of England conducted to Berwick her daughter the Princess Jane. who was there married, July 17., to the Prince of Scotland. With the Princess were delivered up. and carried into Scotland, many of the jewels, charters, and other things, which had been taken from thence by Edward I. 21 Thus ended that long and bloody war between the two British kingdoms, which involved them both in very great calamities, and gave birth to that national animosity which laid a foundation for many future wars.

The hatred and jealoufy of some of the chief Confedenobility against Mortimer were now become so racy against great, that they declined attending feveral parlia- Mortimer. ments which were called this year, at Northampton, York, and Salisbury. At the last of these parliaments, which was held in October, Mortimer was created Earl of March, which ferved equally to increase his insolence and the animosity of his enemies. The Earls of Kent, Norfolk, and Lancaster, with other discontented barons, meet-

<sup>19</sup> A. Murimuth. p. 72. Ypodyg. Neuft. p.510.

Heming. p. 269. Walfing. p. 128. 20 Knyghton, col. 2552.

<sup>21</sup> Knyghton, col. 2553. Fordun, 1.13. c. 14. Carte, vol. 2. p. 397. from Annal. ad an. 1377.

A.D. 1328. ing at London in December, entered into a confederacy to call Mortimer to an account, for the murder of the late King, for depriving the council of regency of all authority, for embezzling the public treafure, for the dishonourable peace with Scotland, and feveral other crimes. 22

A.b. 1329. Both parties now began to raise forces and pre-Civilbroils. pare for war; the barons trufting to their own power and the popularity of their cause, and Mortimer depending on the person and authority of the King, which were in his poffession. But the Earls of Kentand Norfolk, being princes of little courage or capacity, began to dread the confequences of carrying things to extremity, and, by the intervention of some prelates, made their peace with the court. This obliged the Earl of Lancaster soon after to fubmit to an accommodation, by which all disputes were referred to a parliament, to be called for composing these differences, and reforming the government<sup>23</sup>. But other matters intervening, prevented the meeting of this healing and reforming parliament.

Edward's voyage to France.

Charles the Fair, King of France, having died fome time ago without male iffue, was fucceeded by his coufin Philip de Valois, who had fummoned Edward to come over and perform his homage for his French dominions 24. This fummons was very unwelcome on feveral accounts. It ill agreed with the high spirit of Edward to go through the hu-

<sup>22</sup> J. Barne's Hift, Ed.III. p. 31.

<sup>23</sup> Knyghton, p. 2554.

<sup>24</sup> Rymer, t.4. p.381.

miliating ceremony of doing homage; but it ftill A.D. 1329. worse agreed with the ambitious designs of claiming the crown of France, to give fuch a formal recognition of Philip's right to that crown. However, as he was not yet prepared for afferting his claim, nor could obtain any further delay, he refolved to comply with the fummons, making a protestation before his own council, that what he did was by constraint, and should not be considered as a renunciation of his right to the crown of France. Having taken this precaution, he failed from Dover on Friday, May 26., did homage to the King of France at Amiens, and returned to Dover on Whitfunday, June 11.25 In this fhort vifit Edward was fo much charmed with the splendour of the court of France, the beauty and riches of the country, that he became more refolved than ever to affert his fatal claim to that kingdom.

Though a feeming reconciliation had lately A.D. 1330. taken place between the Earl of Kent and Morti- Earl of mer, it was far from being fincere. A report pre- Kent, the King's unvailed at this time all over England (raifed and cle, conpropagated, as it is believed, by Mortimer and his demned and exeagents, for the most pernicious purposes), that cuted. Edward II. was still alive, and confined in Corfe caftle. This report was industriously fent to the ears of the Earl of Kent, and the truth of it confirmed by Sir James Devernel the governor of Corfe caftle, who, though he would not admit the

Kent, the

A.D.1330. Earl to fee the King his brother, promifed to deliver him a letter. The unwary Kent fell into the fnare, wrote a letter to his brother, in which he promifed to exert all his power, in conjunction with his other friends, to fet him at liberty, and restore him to the throne. This letter he gave to the perfidious governor, who immediately fent it to Mortimer, by whom he had been employed. As foon as the Queen and her wicked paramour had got this letter into their hands, they procured a parliament to be called, to meet at Winchester on March 11.26 Parliaments at this time confifted rather of the chiefs of a faction than the reprefentatives of a free people, few attending them but the partifans of the Queen and her favourite. The intended victim, the Earl of Kent, was in a very earnest manner invited to this meeting by the King, or rather by those who abused his name; and as foon as he arrived at Winchefter he was arrefted. On the 16th of March he was condemned by parliament of high treason, on the absurd accufation of defigning to raife a dead man to the throne; and on the 19th of the same month this iniquitous fentence was executed 27. While this fcene of iniquity was acting, the young King was engaged in a fuccession of amusements, which left him no leifure for reflection till it was too late.

Birth of the Black Prince.

SET HOL

Not long after this branch was thus cruelly cut off from the royal family, another fprung up in its

<sup>26</sup> Concil. M. Brit. p. 557. <sup>27</sup> Leland Col. vol. 2. p. 477. Walfing. p. 510. p. 2552. Heming. p. 271. R. de Avesbury, p. 8. Knyghton,

room; the young Queen being delivered at Wood- A.D. 1330. floke. June 15., of a fon, who was afterwards fo well known to the world, and to posterity, by the name of the Black Prince. 28

Nor did Mortimer triumph much longer in his Mortimer fuccessful villanies. The King, being now near imprisoneighteen years of age, and feeing himfelf a father, refolved to take the reins of government into his own hands, and to emancipate himself from the tutelage of the Queen-mother and her minion, whom he had many reasons both to hate and fear. He was encouraged in this defign by many noblemen who hated Mortimer; and a plan was laid for feizing him at the next parliament, which was to meet fifteen days after Michaelmas, at Nottingham<sup>29</sup>. But it was not fo eafy to execute this defign, Mortimer, both from a principle of vanity, and with a view to fafety, being continually attended with a great retinue of armed knights. On his arrival at Nottingham with Queen Isabel, they took possession of the castle of that place, with a guard of one hundred and eighty knights; and the Queen had the keys of the castle every night delivered to her, which she put under her pillow. The King, at his coming, was admitted into the caftle, but only with a few attendants, the rest of his retinue being lodged in the town. In this fituation of things, it was impossible to accomplish the defign without the affistance of Sir William Eland, the governor; who, entering heartily into the

A.D.1330.

King's measures, shewed to the Lord Montacute, and the other noblemen intrusted with the execution, a fubterraneous passage into the castle, by which they entered early in the morning October 19.; and being joined by the King and his attendants within, they feized Mortimer in an apartment adjoining to the Queen's 30. This Princess most earnestly entreated her sweet son (as she called the King) to have pity on the lovely Mortimer. But her entreaties were not regarded. and he was fent, under a ftrong guard, to the tower of London. At the same time two of Mortimer's fons, with feveral of his confidents, were taken, and fent to the fame place 31. The fame day a proclamation was iffued, to acquaint all his fubjects, that the King had taken the administration of the government into his own hands; and a new parliament was fummoned to meet at Westminster, November 26., for the trial of the prifoners. 32 minute the small state of the larger

Mortimer condemned and executed.

Before this affembly Mortimer was accused of murdering the late King, occasioning the death of the Earl of Kent, usurping the government from the council of regency, embezzling the public treasures, and many other crimes; of all which he was esteemed by his peers so notoriously guilty, that he was condemned, without examining any witnesses, to the death of a traitor 33. This sentence was executed 29th November, at a place called

<sup>30</sup> Knyghton, p. 2556. Avesbury, p.9. 31 Kny

<sup>31</sup> Knyghton, p. 2556.

<sup>12,</sup> Rymer, vol. 4. p.452, 453.

<sup>33</sup> Knyghton, p. 2556.

the Elms, near Tyburn; and his body was fuffered to hang two days upon the gibbet. 34

Character of Mortimer.

Thus perished, by a violent and ignominious death, the profligate, infolent, ambitious Mortimer; who, but a few years before, was almost adored by the deluded people as the deliverer of his country, but now justly abhorred as the murderer of his King. Like all the royal favourites of those times, who resembled one another as much in their characters as in their fates, he was infatiably covetous and infufferably vain; and made fuch an oftentatious display of his ill-gotten power and wealth, that one of his own fons called him the King of Folly 35. A few of his most guilty accomplices were foon after condemned and executed. 36

The Queen-mother, though treated with greater lenity, did not escape censure. She was deprived of her treasures and enormous jointure, and confined to live at her house at Risings, on a pension of three thousand marks a-year. 37

ment of the Queen-

King R

to tul Moray

biod bas

Dooglin.

Though Edward was only a few days more than A.D. 1331. eighteen years of age when he took the reins of government into his own hands, his fubjects foon received very fensible advantages from his admi-He exerted his authority with great nistration. fpirit, in fubduing and bringing to justice the numerous gangs of robbers which infefted all parts of the country, and were too often protected by the great barons. He took care to have justice

Arictly

<sup>34</sup> Knyghton, p. 2559. Walfing. p. 130.

<sup>35</sup> Knyghton, p. 2558. 36 Leland. Collect. t. 2. p. 476. 37 Knyghton, p.2556.

July 30

A.D.1331. frictly and impartially administered; and gave new life and vigour to all parts of the conftitution38. Happy had it been for his own kingdom, as well as for the neighbouring nations, if he had always employed his great talents in these beneficent arts of peace. But it foon appeared that he was deeply tainted with ambition; the vice of great minds, and the fource of infinite mischiefs.

A.D. 1332. Death of King Robert Bruce. Earl of Moray. and Lord Douglas.

Scotland about this time fuftained an irreparable loft by the deaths of three of the greatest men that ever fought her battles. These were, the King Robert Bruce, the Lord James Douglas, who had been killed in Spain, and Randolph Earl of Moray, regent of the kingdom, who died this year, July 2039. He was fucceeded in the regency by Donald Earl of Marr. 40

Claims of English barons in Scotland.

By one article of the late peace with England, it was flipulated, that fome English noblemen should be restored to their estates in Scotland. The execution of this article was delayed from time to time, for reasons which are not certainly known, by the King of Scots and the regent. Several just and warm remonstrances were made on this subject by the court of England; which produced nothing but excuses from that of Scotland. 41 tive attrocking and harman all a matter time

Edward Baliol and fome English barons invade Scotland.

The English noblemen, seeing no end of these delays, formed a defign to attempt a revolution in Scotland, in favour of the Baliol family, as the most effectual way to get possession of their estates

<sup>38</sup> Cotton's Abridg. 40 Id. ibid. c. 22.

<sup>39</sup> Fordun, 1.43. c. 14. 19. 21. 41 Rymer, vol.4. p.461. 471, 472. 518.

in that kingdom. With this view the Lord Ed- A.D. 1332. ward Baliol, who was living as a private man on his estates in France, was invited into England, with promifes of affiftance in profecuting his claim to the crown of Scotland which his father had fometime worn. Edward, who wanted neither courage nor ambition, accepted the invitation; and on his arrival in the north of England, with forty knights in his company, he was joined by the Earls of Athole and Angus, the Lords Beaumont, Wake, Waren, and feveral other barons, who raifed a body of 2500 men, well armed 42. This was too fmall a force to make an attempt upon the fouth of Scotland, where the people were used to arms, and continually upon their guard. They therefore embarked at Ravenspur, and failing up the frith of Forth, landing at Kinghorn August 6., dispersing, with much ease and great flaughter, a crowd of country people, who had affembled hastily to oppose their landing. 43

This first success was followed by others still successes greater and more furprifing. The Earl of Marr, of Baliol with the affiftance of the noblemen in those parts, English, collected in a few days an army, as it is faid, of 40,000 men. But all the proceedings of this confused rabble were rash and tumultuary. Depending on their numbers, they kept no guard, and were furprised in their camp on the banks of the river

Walfing. p. 131. Heming. p. 273. Knyght. col. 2560.

<sup>43</sup> M. West, Contin. Knyghton, p.2560. R. de Avesbury, p.22. Meming. p. 272. Ford. 1.13. c. 22.

A.D. 2222. Ern, not far from Perth, in the night between the 11th and 12th of August, and routed with great flaughter. Next morning, a great number of fugitives rallying, and ashamed of what had happened, returned to the charge, but with fuch paffionate precipitation, that they were again thrown into confusion, and put to flight. In these two actions the Scotch, besides an incredible number of private men, loft the Earls of Marr, Carrick, and Monteith, with feveral other lords, and many gentlemen, which threw the whole kingdom into fuch consternation, that it was thought proper to fend their young King and Queen into France for their fafety. Baliol purfuing this favourable gale of good fortune, took possession of Perth without refistance, and on the 27th September he was crowned King of Scotland at Scone. 44

Edward marches into the north.

Though the King of England had taken no part publicly in these transactions, it is highly probable that they were not undertaken by his subjects without his knowledge and confent. It is at least certain, that he granted Baliol a fafe-conduct for his coming into England; a prefumptive proof that he did not disapprove of his design. But however this may be, Edward was holding a parliament at Westminster when he received the news of this furprifing revolution in Scotland, and was advised by that affembly to march immediately with a

<sup>44</sup> R. de Avesbury, p. 22, 23. Heming. p. 272, 273, 274. Knyghton, p.2559. Fordun, l. 13. c. 22, 23, 24, 25. Buchanan, lib.9. Walfing. p. 132.

good army into the north, that he might be at A.D. 1332. hand to act as occasion should require.45

While Edward was on his march into the north, Baliol Sub-Baliol executed letters patent at Roxburgh, dated jects the November 23., Subjecting the crown and kingdom of Scotof Scotland to the crown of England, engaging to land to deliver the town of Berwick to Edward, and to marry his fifter the Princess Jane, if her marriage with his rival David Bruce could be diffolyed. 46

kingdom England.

Not long after this, Baliol, observing the coun- Baliol extry in a state of seeming tranquillity, dismissed his pelled. troops and retired to Annan with a flender retinue to keep his Christmas; but here he was attacked in the night by Sir Archibald Douglas, young Randolph Earl of Moray, and Sir Simon Frafer, fo fuddenly, that with great difficulty he got on horseback, without a faddle, and efcaped to Carlifle, almost naked, leaving his brother Henry dead behind him, and all his baggage in the hands of his enemies. Thus did Baliol lofe his crown by a change of fortune more fubden and furprifing than that by which he had gained it. 47

Edward was in York when he heard of this A.D. 1333. fecond revolution in Scotland, and confulted his Edward parliament, which met in that city, January 5., his parliawhether he should content himself with the supe- mentriority, or attempt to obtain the fovereignty of that kingdom. But the parliament, for reasons

<sup>45</sup> Rymer, t.4. p.533, 534. 540.

<sup>45</sup> Id. ibid. p. 536, 537, 538, 539.

<sup>47</sup> Walfing. p. 132. Knyghton, p. 2561. Fordun, 1. 13. c. 25.

A.D. 1333. which are not certainly known, did not think fit to give him any advice on that important question.

The Scots invade England.

The Scots, not contented with having expelled Baliol, renewed their plundering incursions into the north of England; which greatly incensed Edward against them, and made him hasten his preparations for the re-establishment of Baliol<sup>49</sup>. He called a parliament to meet at York, in the beginning of March; which being equally incensed against the Scots for their depredations, no longer observed their former silence, but advised Edward to attempt the recovery of Berwick and the reduction of Scotland, promising to assist him with all their power. <sup>50</sup>

Edward besieges Berwick. Edward was not flow in following an advice fo agreeable to his inclinations. He appointed the rendezvous of his army to be at Newcastle, May 2., from whence he marched, and invested Berwick on all sides. The place was provided with a numerous garrison, and made a brave defence; but the siege was pushed with so much vigour, that it was obliged to capitulate on July 16., and agreed to surrender on Tuesday the 20th, at sun-rising, if not relieved before that time; and Sir W. Keith, governor of the town, was allowed to go to the regent of Scotland, and solicit relief. 51

Battle of Hallidon hill. Lord Archibald Douglas, regent of Scotland for King David Bruce, had collected a numerous

<sup>48</sup> Cotton's Abridg. p. 14.

<sup>49</sup> Rymer, t.4. p.551, 552. Heming. p.274.

<sup>50</sup> Walfing. p. 133. Knyghton, col. 2562.

<sup>31</sup> Rymer, t.4. p.564. 568.

army, with which he had invaded England, in A.D. 1933. hopes of drawing Edward from the fiege of Berwick to the protection of his own country. But the importunities of Sir W. Keith prevailed upon him to change his plan of operations, and march directly towards Berwick for its relief. The Scots army came in fight of that place, Monday July 19., about noon, and found the English army drawn up on Hallidon hill, about a mile north-west of the town, ready to receive them. The Scotch were grievously galled by the English archers in mounting the hill, which made them rush on to the attack with much precipitation. Their first shock was violent; but being bravely sustained by the English, and the regent being killed, they instantly fell into confusion, and fled on all hands, and were purfued feveral miles by Edward, at the head of the English cavalry, and by the Irish under Lord Darcy, with a most dreadful carnage. Besides a prodigious number of private men, the greatest part of the nobility, who adhered to the family of Bruce, were either killed or taken prisoners in this battle. This glorious victory was obtained with very little lofs, and was followed by the furrender of the town and caftle of Berwick, according to the capitulation. 52

Edward, fatisfied with the fuccess of this cam- Baliol paign, left a body of 26,000 men with Baliol to reftored. reduce Scotland under his authority; and, dif-

nostronale.

<sup>52</sup> Heming. p. 275, 276, 277. Knyghton, p. 2559. Otterborne, Buchayan, 1.9. Fordun, 1.13. c.27, 28. Rymer, vol.4. p. 115. p. 568.

A.D. 1332, missing the rest of his army, returned into England 53. So many of the heads of the Brucean party had fallen in the late battle, that Baliol met with no further opposition, and held a parliament at Perth, foon after Michaelmas, in perfect tranquillity. At this parliament Baliol's right to the crown of Scotland was recognized, the fuperiority of England acknowledged, all the laws which had been made in the reigns of Robert Bruce and his fon David repealed, the noblemen who had adhered to that family were profcribed, and their estates bestowed chiefly on the English noblemen who had contributed most to this revolution 54. Thus was Baliol once more reftored to the throne of Scotland.

A.D. 1334. Ceffions made by Baliol to Edward.

But this unhappy prince still wanted the firmest support of a throne, the affections of his subjects; and a transaction which soon after happened, rendered him the object of their fovereign contempt and hatred. He attended the King of England at Newcastle, June 12., and did homage in person for the kingdom of Scotland, June 18.; and made an entire cession of the shires of Edinburgh, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Dumfries, Peebles, Haddington, and Linlithgow, with all their towns and caftles. to be for ever united to the crown, and incorporated with the kingdom of England. 55

Unpopularity of Balial.

This too liberal concession furnished the friends of the family of Bruce with a popular topic of de-

55 Id. ibid. p. 614-618.

<sup>53</sup> Knyghton, p. 2560. Walfing. p. 132.

<sup>54</sup> Barnes Hift. ed. 3. p. 82. Rymer, vol. 4. p. 576.

clamation against this shadow of a king; who A.D 1334 not only degraded the honour of his crown, but difmembered its most valuable provinces, and was no better than a tool in the hands of the King of England. Even some of Baliol's friends were difgusted at this last transaction; and his whole party was torn in pieces by their disputes about dividing the spoils of their ruined enemies. 56

These circumstances encouraged the chiefs of Attempt the Brucean party to confult together, in order to expel take advantage of the discontents of the people and the divisions of their enemies. They fent ambaffadors to the King of France, who had fo kindly entertained their young and unfortunate King and Queen, to folicit affiftance for their restoration 57. Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, who had been regent of Scotland for King David Bruce, collecting an army, reduced the north of Scotland to the obedience of his mafter, and obliged Baliol to retire to Berwick. On this new turn of affairs, the Earls of Athole, Dunbar, and feveral other barons deferted him, and embraced the more popular party of his rival.

When Edward received intelligence of these Edward commotions in Scotland, he was holding a parlia- supports ment, which met at Westminster, September 19.; and having obtained a fifteenth from the barons and knights of shires, and a tenth from the citizens and burgesses, to enable him to prosecute

Baliol.

<sup>56</sup> Leland's Collect. vol. 2. p. 554. Ford. 1. 13. c. 29.

<sup>57</sup> Froiffart, 1. 1. c. 3 3.

A.D. 1334. the war with Scotland, he spent the winter in the north of England, and at Roxburgh, in the fouth of Scotland, that he might be ready to enter upon action in the fpring 58. In the mean time, he furnished Baliol with a body of troops, which enabled him to maintain his ground, and keep up the war during the winter.

A.D. 1335. Edward and Baliol invade Scotland.

Edward's warlike operations against Scotland were suspended for some time, by the arrival of ambaffadors from the King of France, to negotiate a peace 59. But these negotiations proving abortive, he entered Scotland on July 11., by way of Carlifle, at the head of a very powerful army, while Baliol advanced from Berwick with another at the same time 60. The two kings with their armies joined at Perth, without having met with any confiderable opposition. The remainder of this year was fpent in undecifive but pernicious plunderings and skirmishes, and in fhort truces that were ill observed. 61

A.D. 1336. Invasions of Scotland.

Hostilities were suspended for some months, by a truce procured by the agents of the Pope and King of France 62; during which a congress was held at Newcastle for negotiating a peace, but without effect 63. The truce expiring May 9., Edward fent an army into Scotland, under the command of Henry Earl of Lancaster, and soon after

<sup>58</sup> Knyghton, col. 2565. Rymer, vol. 4. p. 628-634.

<sup>60</sup> Rymer, vol. 4. p. 637. 640. 59 Knyght. col. 2566.

<sup>61</sup> Id. ibid. p. 74. 675. 62 Id. ibid. p.675, 676. 681.

<sup>63</sup> Id. ibid. p. 677. 685. 690.

Paunds.

followed in person 64. The Brucean Scots not A.D. 1336. having yet received the promifed fuccours from France, and being quite unable to meet their enemies in the field, retired to their woods and mountains, leaving all the level and open country a defenceless prey. Edward, greatly incensed at thefe repeated revolts, marched through Athole to Inverness, marking his way with desolation; and returning in the same manner by the sea-coast, he burnt the city of Aberdeen, and arrived again at Perth about the end of August, having subdued every thing but the hearts of the inhabitants 65. Leaving his brother Prince John, and part of his army, with Baliol at Perth, he haftened to meet his parliament at Nottingham, Sept. 23. Here he received the melancholy news of the death of his brother Prince John at Perth, and of some hostile enterprises of the Scots 66. Having obtained a supply from his parliament at Nottingham, he flew back to Scotland, and arrived at Perth in the beginning of November. But Sir Andrew Moray, the Brucean regent, immediately retired from the fiege of Stirling castle to his fastnesses with his followers; and Edward, after carrying defolation into some other parts of that wretched country, left it, and returned to London, about Christmas, 67

64 Rymer, vol.4. p. 695. Heming. p. 278.

<sup>65</sup> Leland's Collect. vol. 2. p. 555, 556. Heming. p.278, 279. Knyghton, col. 2568.

Edward refolves to affert his claim to the crown of France.

It had been no fecret for fome time past, that the King of France, dreading the martial and ambitious spirit of Edward, had resolved to give a very powerful assistance to the party of David Bruce in Scotland, to enable them to protract the war; and that he was making great preparations for that purpose. But Edward determined to prevent him; and, instead of waiting for him on the desolated plains of Scotland, to carry the war into the fertile provinces of France, and boldly affert his claim to that crown. As this fatal claim was the source of long and bloody wars between the two powerful kingdoms of England and France, it will be proper to explain, in a few words, the foundation on which it was built.

Foundation of Edward's claim to the crown of France.

It would be quite inconfistent with the studied brevity of this work, to enter upon a laborious inquiry into the origin and true meaning of the Salic law, and the rule of fuccession to the crown of France. It is fufficient to observe, that though the French monarchy had already existed nine hundred years, no female had ever filled that throne; and that the daughters of feveral ancient kings of France (who died without male iffue) had been regularly excluded from the fuccession, by virtue of fome established law or custom. It was also in virtue of this law or custom, that the two immediate predecessors of Philip de Valois, the present King of France, as well as Philip himfelf, had fucceeded to the crown; as will appear from the following thort detail of their fuccessions. Philip

the

the Fair, King of France, at his death, left three A.D. 1337. fons, Lewis Hutin, Philip the Long, and Charles ' the Fair, and one daughter, Isabel, queen to Edward II. and mother to Edward III., kings of England. Lewis Hutin succeeded his father, and after a fhort reign died, leaving one daughter, Joanna, and his queen pregnant, who was delivered of a fon, who lived only four days; upon which Philip the Long fucceeded peacebly to the crown, to the exclusion of his elder brother's daughter, the Princess Joanna. Philip the Long having reigned only a few years, died also without male iffue; but left four daughters; Jane, Margaret, Ifabel, and Blanch; and was fucceeded by his brother Charles the Fair, to the exclufion of all his daughters. Charles the Fair, the youngest of the three sons of Philip the Fair, died February 1., A.D. 1328., leaving one daughter Maria, and his queen with child. Here this famous controverfy began, concerning the right to the regency till the Queen was delivered, and to the fuccession, if she was delivered of a daughter. The claimants were, Philip de Valois, fon of Charles de Valois, who was brother to Philip the Fair, and Edward III. King of England, fon of Isabel, daughter of the same Philip the Fair. This great cause was debated before an affembly of the states of France, the only competent judges. For Philip it was pleaded, that the male iffue of Philip the Fair being extinct, and all females, and their descendants, being by the laws and customs of France excluded, he had a clear

A.D. 1337. a clear and undoubted right to the regency. as being the next male heir, the fon of Charles de Valois, brother of Philip the Fair. For Edward it was argued, that being fon of Ifabel, daughter of Philip the Fair, he was nearer in blood to the three last kings of France, being their fifter's fon, than Philip, who was only their uncle's fon; and that though his mother Ifabel was by the laws of France excluded on account of her fex, yet he, not being liable to the fame objection, ought to fucceed. From this ftate of the case it appears, that the precise point in question between these two princes was this, whether, by the laws and customs of France, not only females, but also their descendants, were excluded from the fuccession to that crown? Both allowed that females were excluded: otherwise neither of them could have had any right, as there were daughters of all the three last kings of France then living. But they differed widely as to the exclusion of the male descendants of these excluded females. The advocates for Edward maintained, that the fole reason of the law or cuftom excluding females from the crown was on account of the imbecility of their fex, and supposed incapacity for reigning; but that this reason not militating against their male descendants, they ought not to be excluded. Those who pleaded the cause of Philip, affirmed, that females, having no right to the fuccession themfelves, could convey no right to their descendants; and that the reason of the law or custom of excluding

cluding females from the fuccession was, not only A.D. 1332. to prevent the weaker fex from wearing the crown, but also to prevent foreign princes, their descendants, strangers to the laws and customs of France, from ascending that throne. They added further. That the exclusion of the defcendants of females, as well as females themfelves, was fo well known, that two princes, one descended from the daughter of Lewis Hutin. and the other from one of the daughters of Philip the Long, who had both a better title than Edward, if there was any strength in his plea, made no claim. Influenced by these arguments, and perhaps a little swayed by their affection to a prince of their own country, the flates of France, gave a decision in favour of Philip de Valois: who immediately assumed the regency; and the Queen being delivered of a daughter, heafcended the throne without any further opposition. 68

Though Edward, naturally ambitious, was no Reason of doubt much displeased at this decision; yet he Edward's found it necessary to do homage to Philip for his his claim. French dominions, and perform feveral other acts expressive of his acknowledging him as lawful King of France. It is even probable, that he never would have profecuted his claim, unless invited by fome very favourable opportunity, if many occasions of quarrel had not arisen between him and Philip, especially about the affairs of Scotland. Philip not only afforded an afylum to

<sup>68</sup> Specileg. tom. 3. p. 87. Mem. de l'Acad. de B.L. tom. 20. p. 459, &c.

A.D. 1337. the young King and Queen of Scotland, when obliged to abandon their country, but he also encouraged their partifans, fending them fmall Supplies of men and money, and was now making great preparations to give them a very powerful aid. Edward, greatly incenfed at this and other injuries, refolved to revive his claim to the crown of France, and carry the war into that country.

Edward prompted by Robert d'Artois.

He was much confirmed and encouraged in this resolution by Robert d'Artois (a prince of the blood-royal of France, and King Philip's brotherin-law), who had lately taken shelter in the court of England, where he met with a very kind reception69. This Robert had many years before maintained a law-fuit for the county of Artois, which was adjudged to his rival by a definitive fentence of Philip the Fair, in 1309. Though Robert was obliged to fubmit to this fentence, he always confidered it as oppressive and unjust. But when Philip de Valois, his brother-in-law, mounted the throne of France, he began to entertain hopes of getting this fentence reverfed; and prefuming, perhaps too much, on the favour of his prince, to whom he was fo nearly allied, he was unhappily privy to the forging certain deeds for strengthening his title to the disputed territory 70. The forgery was detected; a fentence of banishment and confiscation was pronounced against Robert; who retired, first into Brabant, and afterwards into

<sup>69</sup> Rymer, t. 4. p. 747. Froissart, l. r. c. 27.

<sup>7</sup>º Froisfart, l. 1. c. 26. p. 31.

England, inflamed with the most violent and im- A.D. 1337. placable rage against Philip, who had behaved, as he thought, with unbecoming feverity on this occasion. To gratify at once his resentment against Philip, and to recover the estates and honours which he had loft, this illustrious exile laboured earnestly to persuade Edward of the validity of his title to the crown of France, and of the practicability of making good that title ". These persuasions were too agreeable not to be fuccessful; and about the beginning of this year. he came to a final refolution to attempt the acquisition of the crown of France, which he believed to be his right.

Edward, well knowing the difficulty of the en- Edward's terprife in which he was engaging, and that with- preparaout powerful allies on the continent, ftrong fleets invading and armies, and a mighty mass of treasure, he France. could expect no fuccess in it, laboured to procure all these with much diligence. By his ambassadors, he concluded treaties with the Emperor Lewis of Bayaria, the Dukes of Brabant and Guilders, the Archbishop of Cologne, the Marquis of Juliers, the Counts of Hainault and Namur, the Lords Tauquemont, Bacquen, and fome others; who, for certain subfidies, engaged to affift him with their forces in his defigns against France 12. The Earl of Flanders would have been a most useful ally to Edward on this occasion, on account of the power and wealth of his fubjects,

tions for

<sup>21</sup> Froiffart, 1. 1. c. 29. p. 36.

<sup>72</sup> Rymer, vol. 4. p. 752-777, &c. Froissart, 1.1. c.29. 33. 36.

A.D. 1337, and the fituation of his country; and he courted his alliance by the most tempting offers. But that prince was fleady and warm in his attachment to Philip. This obliged the King of England to cultivate the friendship of a factious demagogue of that country, one James d'Arteville, a brewer in Ghent, who was at the head of a very powerful party against the Earl, and really possessed more authority in the rich cities of Flanders than their lawful prince. By the influence of this man, these cities were brought to favour the defigns of Edward, and to invite him to land his army in their territories. whole year was spent in forming these alliances, and making other preparations for this grand expedition. 73

A.D. 1338. Edward collects money for his expedision.

Though Edward had obtained a confiderable aid from a parliament which met last year about Michaelmas, he foon found that this would not be sufficient to enable him to fulfil his engagements with his foreign allies, and make the other necesfary preparations for the invalion of France. He called another parliament, therefore, to meet at Westminster February 3.; and his designs against France were at this time fo popular, that he obtained from the prelates, barons, and knights of shires, one half of their wool of this year's; a very valuable and extraordinary grant! Besides this he levied money by many other methods. He feized all the tin in Cornwall and Devonshire; -took possession of the lands of all priories alien; -the

<sup>73</sup> Proiffart, I.z. c. 50.

<sup>14</sup> Rymer, vol. 5. p.3.

money, jewels, and valuable effects of the Lom- A.D. 1338. bard merchants, the great dealers in money of these times. He demanded certain quantities of bread-corn, oats, and bacon, from each county, borrowed their filver-plate from many abbies, as well as great fums of money, both abroad and at home, and pawned his very crown for 50,000 florins 25. Such mighty efforts were necessary to fet this great machine in motion!

Having at length got all things in readiness, and Edward appointed his eldest fon Edward guardian of the kingdom, he failed from the port of Orwell, in Suffolk, July 16., with a gallant fleet and army. 76

for France.

embarks

At his arrival on the continent, he was far from finding his allies fo ready and willing to enter upon action as he expected, presenting him with difficulties, scruples, and excuses, instead of troops, This obliged him to spend this whole year in negotiations. To remove the fcruples of the Flemings about fighting against their liege lord the King of France, heaffumed, after much hefitation. the dangerous title of King of France ". That he might have a pretence for commanding the German princes, he obtained from the Emperor, in an interview he had with that Prince September 2., the title of vicar of the empire 78. To some of graphic includes good one best mothered whiching

Finds his allies backward.

<sup>75</sup> Rymer, vol. 5. p. 3. 48, 49, 50, 51. 60. 101. Walfing. p. 146. Knyghton, p. 2570, 2571.

<sup>76</sup> Rymer, vol. 5. p. 64, 65. Walfing. p. 136.

<sup>77</sup> Rymer, vol. 5. p. 66. R. de Avesbury, p. 51-54.

<sup>78</sup> Knyghton, p. 2572.

A.D. 1338, his allies he granted advantages in trade, to others honours, and to all large fums of money: which fo exhausted his treasures, that he asked and obtained fresh supplies from a parliament which was held this year in his absence 79. At length, with much difficulty and great expence, he brought all his allies to agree to rendezvous with their troops next year by July 8., in order to begin the war by the fiege of Cambray. That Edward might be near at hand to keep his allies fleady, and quicken their preparations, he fpent the winter at Antwerp.

A.D.1339. Edward invades France:

But after all his labours and expences, Edward found his allies still dilatory and irresolute, and infatiable in their demands for money; which obliged him not only to ftretch his credit to the utmost in borrowing, but also to pawn his Queen's jewels 80. It was about the middle of September before he could bring his army into the field; and when he approached the confines of France, the Counts of Namur and Hainault refused to march any further, and retired with their forces 81. After this defection, Edward had still an army of 47,000 men, with which he ravaged the countries of Cambrefis and Vermandois, 82

King Philip's preparations.

Philip who had fufficient warning of this formidable invasion, had not been indolent in preparing for his own defence. He had formed al-

<sup>79</sup> Knyghton, p. 2571.

<sup>80</sup> Rymer, vol. 5. p. 83. 91. 110. 118. 120.

<sup>81</sup> Froissart, 1.1. c.39.

<sup>82</sup> Heming. p. 305, 306. Knyghton, col. 2574.

liances with the King of Bohemia and Navarre, A.D. 1339 the Dukes of Britanny, Lorraine, and Austria, the Palatine of the Rhine, the Bishop of Liege, the Counts of Deuxpont, Vaudemont, Geneva, and fome others, and now appeared at the head of an army of 100,000 men. The two armies lay feveral weeks within a few leagues of one another; and even faced each other feveral days in the field in order of battle. But Philip keeping on the defensive, as unwilling to hazard his crown andkingdom in an engagement; and Edward finding no opportunity of attacking a force fo much superior to advantage, both armies retired into winterquarters without having come to action 83. Thus ended this first campaign, in which Edward reaped no real advantage from all the immense sums of money which he had expended, and a prodigious debt of 300,000l. which he had contracted 84: a circumstance which would have discouraged a prince of less resolution from proceeding any further in fo ruinous an undertaking:

Among other engagements into which Edward A.D. 1340. had entered with his allies, this was one,-Not to Edward leave the continent till the war was ended. But this engagement he now found it impossible to perform, his presence being indispensably necesfary in England to procure supplies for carrying on the war. Having therefore left his Queen, and infant fon Lionel, afterwards Duke of Clarence.

returns to England.

<sup>83</sup> Froisfart, l. 1. c. 41, 42, 43. Heming. p. 307 - 312. Walting. 64 Cot. Abridg. p. 17. p. 143.

A.D. 1340. with four earls, at Antwerp, as hostages for his return within a week after Midsummer, he fet out for England, and landed at Harwich, February 21.85

Parliaments.

Though the people of England, dazzled with the prospect of conquering France, had lately made more liberal and frequent grants in parliament than on any former occasion, seeing no end of new demands, they began to be a little more backward. At a parliament which had been held in October last year, the knights of shires refused to agree to an aid proposed by the barons, till they had confulted their constituents; and time was allowed them to the 20th January this year for that purpose. When they met in January they agreed to the aid, but clogged it with very hard conditions . On the King's arrival a new parliament was fummoned to meet March 20., before which he laid a very affecting representation of his neceffities. He told them, that, without a very large fupply, all his defigns would be ruined, and himself dishonoured; that he was obliged to return to Bruffels, and to flaythere till all the debts which he had contracted abroad were paid. The parliament, moved with this representation, granted him the ninth sheaf, fleece, and lamb, of all their lands for two years; and the citizens and burgeffes granted a ninth of their moveables, according to their real value; besides a very great addition to the customs on wool, wool-fells, leather, and other

1.1 3

<sup>85</sup> Rymer, vol.5. p. 140, 141. 171.

<sup>36</sup> Knyghton, p. 2571. Cotton Abridg. p. 17.

goods. In confideration of this ample fupply, A.D. 1349. the King remitted fome old debts, and relinquished the feudal aid for knighting his eldest fon and marrying his eldest daughter 87. Some time after the clergy granted a tenth of their revenues for three years. For a prefent supply of money. the King borrowed great fums from merchants and others, particularly twenty thousand marks from the city of London. 88

Edward having collected as much money as he Edward could in England, began to think of returning to obtains a victory at the continent, agreeable to his engagements, and fea. in order to bring his army into the field. But before he embarked, he received intelligence that a French fleet of 400 fail was waiting near Sluys to intercept him 89. To prevent this, he collected a fleet of 260 flout ships, in which he sailed from Orwell, June 22., towards the coast of Flanders. About ten in the morning on Midsummer-day, the two fleets engaged off the harbour of Sluys, where a most obstinate and bloody battle was fought. But the English fleet having gained the wind of the enemy, and their archers and other troops animated by the presence and example of their heroic King, fighting with irrefiftible bravery, they at length obtained a most glorious and complete victory. Thirty thousand French were killed in the action, or drowned in attempting to get on shore; 200 of their ships were

<sup>88</sup> Heming. p. 318, 319. 87 Knyghton, p. 2576.

<sup>89</sup> Avefbury, p.89. Froissart, 1.1. c.51. Rymer, vol. 5. p. 195.

A.D. 1340. taken; and Edward, with his victorious fleet, entered the harbour of Sluys next day in triumph. 90

Fruits of this victory.

This victory was of great advantage to Edward's affairs both at home and abroad. A parliament which met foon after at Westminster took every possible method to hasten the payment of the great supplies lately granted, to enable the King to purfue his good fortune. His allies were animated with such uncommon ardour and unanimity, that on the oth day of July (as he wrote to his parliament) he faw himfelf at the head of a gallant army of 100,000 men, besides a body of 40,000 Flemings. 91 is order to bring his arms

Ill fuccess of Edward's arms.

to woodliv

Very high expectations were entertained from these two powerful armies, commanded by so brave and fortunate a prince as Edward, and fo wife and experienced a general as Robert d' Artois. But the event was not agreeable to these expectations. The Flemish army formed the siege of St. Omers on July 22., but being composed chiefly of mechanics unused to arms, they made little progress in the fiege; and on the first fally of the garrison, they were seized with a panic, and entirely dispersed, never to be rallied. 92

Siege of-Tournay.

Edward advanced at the head of his army, and about the end of July laid flege to the city of Tournay, one of the richest and most populous

Froisfart, l.1. c.51. Avesbury, p.54-59. Knyghton, p.2577. Walfing. p.148. Rymer. vol. 5. p. 195.

<sup>91</sup> Rymer, vol. 5. p. 197, 198, 199.

<sup>93</sup> Froissart, 1. 1. c. 63.

cities of Flanders, zealoufly attached to the A.D. 1340. French interest. Philip having received intelligence of this defign, had put 14,000 of his bravest troops, under some of his best officers, into Tournay, who, with 15,000 of the inhabitants in arms, formed a garrifon which baffled all the efforts of the befiegers. 93

The King of France, attended by the Kings of Edward's Scotland, Bohemia, and Navarre, and an illus- challenge trious train of many other princes, with a very lip's anpowerful army, remained at fome distance from fwer. Tournay in great tranquillity. When the two armies were in this fituation, Edward fent a challenge to his enemy, giving him only the name of Philip de Valois, proposing to decide the quarrel by fingle combat, or with one hundred men on each fide, or by a general engagement. To this challenge Philip returned a difdainful answer, reproaching Edward with the violation of his oath of homage, and rebellion against his liege lord.94

Edward, despairing of taking Tournay by Tournay force, turned the fiege into a blockade, in hopes reduced to of reducing it by famine. In this he would probably have fucceeded, if many of the inhabitants had not been permitted to retire through the quarters of the Duke of Brabant. At length, however, the place was reduced to great diffress for want of provisions; of which Philip being informed, he advanced with his army within

great dif-

<sup>33</sup> Froisfart, l. 1. c. 54. Knyghton, col. 2578.

<sup>\*</sup> Rymer, vol. 5. p. 198, 199. Heming. p. 323-326. R. de Avefbury, p.59-63.

A.D. 1340, three leagues, in hopes of conveying into it some relief. When the two armies were fo near each other, frequent skirmishes happened, and a general engagement was daily expected. 95

Truce concluded.

When things were in this critical posture, a powerful mediatrix interpofed, and prevented the further effusion of blood. This was Jane Countess-dowager of Hainault, mother-in-law to the King of England, and fifter to the King of France; who prevailed with these two princes to agree to a ceffation of hostilities for three days. and to appoint plenipotentiaries to treat of an accommodation in that time. The plenipotentiaries met accordingly; and on the last day of the ceffation, September 25, concluded a truce, which was to continue from that time to the 25th of June next year. By this truce, in which the Scots were included, if they pleafed, all hostilities were immediately to ceafe, and every thing to remain in its present state. 66

Difadvantageous to Edward.

This truce was highly advantageous and agreeable to the King of France, who thereby gained all his ends without any hazard. It was no less pernicious and displeasing to the King of England, who was thereby deprived of all the fruits of all his toils and expences. But as it had been negotiated by his chief allies, to whom he was deeply indebted, who were weary of the war, and unwilling to fight, he found himself under a necessity of consenting to it.

<sup>96</sup> Rymer, t. 5. p.205-210. 95 Knyghton, col. 2578. Knyghton, col. 2578. R. de Avesbury, p.65-70. One

Negotiations for a

One defign of this truce was to afford time to A.D. 1340. negotiate a peace; and commissioners from both kings met at Arras, and treated of that matter in presence of the Pope's legates, who acted as me- peace. diators. But though Edward was now very moderate in his demands, infifting only on being excused from doing homage for his French dominions, Philip would make no concessions, and even refused to treat till Edward had laid aside the title and arms of King of France, and renounced all his claims to that crown; which rendered these negotiations of peace ineffectual. The commissioners however prolonged the truce to 25th June 1342.97 in amount of both of only

Though one parliament last year had granted very liberal fupplies, and another had made feveral wife regulations for converting them into money, and remitting them to the King, those entrusted with the execution had acted with so little diligence or fidelity, that few remittances had been made, which was one great cause of the backwardness of theallies, and the miscarriage before Tournay. As foon therefore as Edward could difengage himself after the conclusion of the truce, being greatly chagrined at his debts and disappointments abroad, and at the negligence of his fervants at home, he hastened with great secrecy towards the fea-coast, and embarking, landed November 30., about midnight, at the Tower of London, which he found quite unguarded. 98

Airl

<sup>97</sup> Rymer, t.5. p. 242. 251. 266. Froiffart, l. 1. c. 64.

<sup>99</sup> Walfing. p. 155. 147. Heming. p. 326, 227. Rymer, t. 5. p. 216. Anglia Sacra, t. r. p. 20.

A.D. 1340. Edward . punishes many of his fervants.

The first storm of his indignation fell upon those who had the custody of that fortress, who were all imprisoned. He then fent for the Bishop of Chichester lord chancellor, and the Bishop of Litchfield lord treasurer, who not being able to exculpate themselves to his fatisfaction, were deprived of these high offices. 99 Many other great officers, judges, clerks of chancery, &c. of which fome were clergymen, were apprehended and put in prison. 100

Edward's quarrel with Archbishop Stratford.

The greatest delinquent, and the chief object of the King's refentment, escaped his hands. This was John Stratford Archbishop of Canterbury, who had acted as prime minister in England in the King's absence. This prelate had been a great promoter of the war with France, encouraging the King to undertake it, by promising to furnish him with constant supplies of money ... But being gained (as it is supposed) by the Pope, who favoured Philip, he had acted in a manner very inconfistent with his promises, retarding rather than forwarding the supplies. 102

Prefump-Archbishop.

The Archbishop, dreading the King's displeation of the fure, retired to Canterbury; and when he was invited to court, refused to come. At the same time he commenced a most flaming patriot, and zealous defender of the immunities of the church, in order

<sup>90</sup> Walfing. p. 147-150.

<sup>100</sup> Id. ibid. Anglia Sacra, vel. 1. p. 20, 21.

aor Anglia Sacra, vol. 1. p. 24.

<sup>102</sup> Rymer, vol. 5. p.225. 236. 240. Ang. Sac. vol. 1. p.24. 37.

to gain the people and clergy to his interest. A.D. 1340. In this spirit he wrote one letter to the King, another to the chancellor, and a third to the council, charging them, in not very respectful terms, with violating the Great Charter, and the immunities of the church, by imprisoning clerks; and threatening them all, except the King and royal family, with excommunication, if they did not immediately release the imprisoned clergymen. In the same strain he wrote to all the bishops of his province, exhorting and commanding them to publish excommunications against all who violated the charters, and the immunities of the church, by imprisoning or doing any injury to clerks. 103

The King and his council, perceiving by these A.D. 1341. proceedings of the primate, that he defigned to Progress raife a flame in the kingdom, and imitate his factious predecessor Becket, resolved to act against this quarhim with prudence and firmness. To deprive him rel. of his popularity, a manifesto was published in the King's name, charging the Archbishop with treachery, -ingratitude, -giving the Kingilladvice, -embezzling his revenues, -and feveral other crimes 104. To this manifesto the Archbishop published a most insolent reply; calling it ascandalous libel, telling the King in plain terms, that the facerdotal was fuperior to the regal power, and flatly denying all the crimes laid to his charge 105. For

and con-

<sup>104</sup> Walfing. p. 154. <sup>105</sup> Anglia Sacra. vol. 1. p. 27.

<sup>103</sup> Anglia Sacra, vol. 1. p. 21-42. Walfing. p. 150-154. Heming. p. 331-344.

A.D. 1341. this an information being preferred against him in the exchequer, he declined the jurisdiction of the court, and appealed to parliament. A parliament accordingly met, April 23., at Westminster. The Archbishop, supported by his suffragans and fome temporal lords, attempted feveral times to take his place in parliament; but was not permitted to do it till the charge against him had been examined. This firmness of the King at length overcame the haughtiness of the primate, and obliged him to make his fubmission publicly in the painted chamber; upon which he was admitted to take his feat, and a committee was appointed to examine his answers, and report their opinion to the next parliament 106. But as this parliament did not meet till two years after, the Archbishop had before that time so effectually reconciled himself to his sovereign, that all proceedings against him were cancelled. ended this violent contest between the crown and the mitre, which at its beginning feemed to threaten more serious consequences.

Edward's allies defert him.

Edward's rash and imprudent scheme of conquering France by the hands of mercenary allies. who had no immediate interest in the event of the war, and did not really defire its fuccess, had involved him in very great difficulties. In profecuting this scheme, he had lost almost all his conquests in Scotland-had drained England of its money, and most valuable commodities—had

stripped himself of his diadem, and his Queen of A.D. 1241. her jewels, which were laid in pawn-and had contracted a great load of debt, which was daily increasing by exorbitant interest, without having conquered one foot of ground, or made the leaft progress in his design. To complete his vexation and perplexity, he now beheld those allies, on whom he had lavished all his treasures, abandoning him one after another, as foon as they obferved his coffers were empty. All these circumflances would probably have discouraged him from profecuting his claim to the crown of France, if an unexpected event had not happened, which revived his hopes.

Arthur II., Duke of Britanny, had by his first Disputed wife three fons, John, Guy, and Peter; and by fucceffion his fecond wife one fon, named John de Mount- tanny, fort, from the name of his mother's family. Arthur had been succeeded by his eldest son John III., who died this year April 30., without iffue. Guy, the fecond fon of Arthur, had died about ten years before; but had left one daughter, named Jane. Peter, the third fon of Arthur, had died young without issue; and John de Mountfort, the fon of Arthur by his fecond wife, was still John III., desirous to preserve his country from the miseries of a disputed succession, had married his niece Jane, the daughter of his brother Guy, to Charles de Blois, nephew to the King of France, and got Charles to be formally acknowledged by the states of Britanny as his prefumptive 121

A.D. 1341. prefumptive heir and fuccessor in that duchy 107. John de Mountfort made no opposition to this defignation during the life of John III., but as foon as that prince died, he declared himself his fucceffor, feized his treasures, and by various means got possession of several of the strongest towns of Britanny; whilft Charles de Blois, not imagining he had any rival, was gone to Paris to perform homage and receive investiture.

Mountfort forms an alliance with Edward.

But though Mountfort had got these advan tages, he was very fenfible that he could not maintain possession against his rival Charles, favoured by the flates of Britanny, and supported by the King of France, without the affiftance of some very powerful ally. Edward King of England was both most likely and most able to afford him that affiftance: he haftened over to England, therefore, and entered into a ftrict alliance with Edward for the advancement of their feveral claims 108.

Mountfort escapes from Paris.

John de Mountfort, soon after his return to Nantes, received a fummons to attend the court of the peers of France, to shew his title to the duchy of Britanny. This fummons he imprudently obeyed, and was commanded by Philip not to leave Paris for fifteen days; in which time his cause should be determined. But Mountfort justly apprehensive of being seized, made his escape out of Paris, in difguife, and got fafe to Britanny. 109

Froissart, l.I. c. 65. D'Argentré Hist. de Brit. l. 10. c. 42. l. 11. c. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. Avefbury, p.97. acknowledged

<sup>103</sup> Froissart; l. I. c. 69. Avesbury, p. 97. 409 Avesbury, p. 69, 70.

A few days after this escape, the court of peers AD. 1341. determined this great cause, and adjudged the duchy of Britanny to belong to Charles de Blois in right of his wife. Charles having obtained to Charles this sentence in his favour, and, which was of de Blois, more consequence, an army from the King of Mountfort France to put it in execution, marched into Bri- prisoner. tanny, and was fo fortunate as to take the city of Nantes, and the person of his rival, about the end of October. Mountfort was fent to Paris, and thut up in the tower of the Louvre. 110

adjudged who takes

The captivity of this prince feemed to put an Advenend to his pretensions to the duchy of Britanny, tures of and to the hopes of Edward from his alliance. Mount-But both these were revived and supported by a fort's wife, person from whom it could not have been expected. This was Jane, wife of the imprisoned Mountfort, and fifter to the Earl of Flanders, one of the most illustrious heroines in the lists of fame. This princefs, roused by the captivity of her husband, and the impending ruin of her family, affembled the inhabitants of Rennes, where she then refided; and, holding her infant fon in her arms, harangued them in a strain at once so bold and so affecting, that they were seized with the ftrongest political enthusiasm, and declared their resolution to live and die in her defence. Having made a progress through the other towns of Britanny, and inspired their inhabitants with the same passionate zeal for the interests of her family, she went and shut herself up in the port of Hen-

nebone, expecting the promifed fuccours from England."

A.D. 1342. Expedition into Britanny. , 210710

The English fleet, commanded by Sir Walter Manny, did not fail till the beginning of July, and met with a tedious paffage, which exposed the illustrious heroine to whose affiftance it was fent to the greatest dangers, and gave her an opportunity of performing the most glorious exploits. She was belieged in Hennebone in the fpring by Charles de Blois, who pushed the fiege with all possible ardour, in hopes of taking the Countess prisoner, and thereby putting an end to the war. But all his efforts were in vain. The garrison and inhabitants, animated by the prefence and example of their female commander, who appeared on the walls completely armed, and was foremost in every danger, repelled all his affaults. At one time, the broke through the befieging army with about 200 horse; and in a few days returning with a reinforcement, cut her way into the town. But at length the walls of the place were fo shattered, that it was no longer tenable: and the Bishop of Leon was appointed to settle the terms of capitulation with Charles. In this critical moment the Countess mounted a high tower, and looking eagerly towards the fea, discerned a fleet at a distance; upon which fhe cried out in a transport of joy, Succours! fuccours! the English succours! no capitulation! She was not mistaken: the English fleet foon after entered the harbour, landed

nepone

the army, and obliged Charles to raife the A.D. 1342. fiege. 112

tanny.

Though these fuccours which now arrived Expedition under Sir Walter Manny delivered the heroic into Bri-Countess from danger, they were not sufficient to enable her to face her enemy in the open field, or to prevent him from taking feveral towns. She therefore earnestly solicited further assistance from England; and Edward, determined not to abandon fo brave and faithful an ally, failed from Sandwich October 5., with a confiderable fleet and army to her aid 113. He landed his troops without opposition; and though his army did not exceed 12,000 men, he divided them, and undertook at once the fieges of Rennes, Nantz, and Vannes: an imprudent measure! which rendered all his attempts feeble and unfuccessful, and gave his enemies time to collect their forces. Accordingly John Duke of Normandy, eldeft fon of the King of France, advanced at the head of 40,000 men towards Vannes, where the King of England commanded the fiege in person 114. This obliged Edward to collect all his troops, and entrench them strongly before Vannes, where he was foon after invefted by the French army. must be confessed, that Edward and his little army were now in a very critical fituation; furrounded by enemies on all hands, and depending for their subfistence on supplies from England,

<sup>112</sup> Froisfart, 1. 1. c. 81.

<sup>113</sup> R. de Avesbury, p.98. Rymer, vol. 5. p. 343. 114 Froissart, l.1. c.98. R. de Avesbury, p.98-102.

A.D. 1342. which might be retarded by contrary winds, or intercepted by the enemy's fleet. 115

A.D. 1343. A truce concluded.

While the two armies lay in this posture, in a state of inactivity, the English not daring to make any attempt on Vannes in the presence of the French army, and the French not daring to attack the English in their entrenchments; two cardinals arrived to mediate a peace, or at least a truce. These mediators brought about a truce between the Kings of France and England, and their allies on both fides, to commence January 19., and to continue to Michaelmas in the year 1346.; during which time a congress should be held in the Pope's prefence for a general peace. By the articles of this truce, all prisoners were to be fet at liberty on both fides: all places, both in Britanny and elfewhere, were to remain in the hands of their present possessions, except Vannes, which was to be sequestered in the hands of the two cardinals. to be delivered by them, at the expiration of the truce, to whom they pleafed 116. This truce was confirmed with great folemnity by the oaths of both kings, and of many of their chief nobility; after which Edward embarked with his army, and having had a tedious and stormy passage, landed at Weymouth March 2. 117

Conferences for a peace in-

Aparliament, which had been summoned before Edward's arrival, met at Westminster April 28.,

<sup>115</sup> Froissart, 1.1. c.98.

<sup>116</sup> Rymer, vol. 5. p. 346. 352. Avefbury, p. 100. Walfing. p. 159.

<sup>117</sup> Rymer, vol. 5. p. 357. Avefbury, p. 109. Knyghton, col. 2583.

before whom he laid the truce which had been A.D. 1343, lately concluded, and asked their opinion and advice concerning the proposed negotiations for a peace. The lords and commons having feparately deliberated on that subject, came into the royal presence in the White chamber on May 1., where the lords first declared their approbation of the truce, and advised the King to fend commissioners to treat of a peace before the Pope. Then the commons, by Sir William Truffel, declared also their approbation of the truce, and of negotiations for a peace, and advised the King to accept of a reasonable one if he could obtain it; but if he could not, they promifed to affift him with all their power in maintaining his quarrel 119. The King, in consequence of this advice, appointed Hugh Spenfer Lord of Glamorgan, Raph de Stafford baron, William de Norwich Dean of Lincoln, William Truffel knight, and Andrew de Offord professor of civil law, his commissioners (to whom he afterwards added others) to treat of peace with the commissioners of Philip de Valois before the Pope, as a common friend, but not as a judge. 119 These conferences were accordingly opened at Avignon, where the Pope then relided, October 22., and continued to November 29., when they broke up without effect; though the Pope feems to have laboured with great earnestness for a peace.

In the mean time, each party made bitter com. The truce plaints against the other for violating the truce; ill ob-

A.D. 1343.

which feems to have been very ill observed on both sides <sup>120</sup>. On the one hand, Philip had detained John de Mountfort still in prison, contrary to an article of the truce, and had seized and put to death several noblemen of Britanny, who he suspected had secretly deserted his interest and embraced that of his enemy <sup>121</sup>. On the other hand, Edward had endeavoured to strengthen his own party and that of Mountfort in Britanny, and had encouraged the inhabitants of Vannes to expel the garrison of the cardinals, and declare for Mountfort.

A.D. 1344. Preparations for war.

It being now evident that the war would be renewed, both parties endeavoured to strengthen themseves as much as possible. It was with this view that Edward proclaimed in all countries of Europe a grand tournament or round-table, to be celebrated at Windsor in the beginning of this year, that he might have an opportunity of engaging many brave knights in his service 122. He also summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster June 7., and represented to them, by his chancellor, that Philip de Valois had violated the truce in no sewer than seven articles, and desired their advice what was to be done on that occasion. The parliament entering warmly into the King's views, advised him to be no longer abused by ill-

<sup>220</sup> Rymer, vol. 5. p. 367. 387. 394.

Frolfart, I. I. c. 100. Knyghton, col. 2583. Avelbury, p. 114.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> Walfing. p. 164. Proiff. l. t. c. 161. Ashmole, fol. 182. Rymer, vol. 5. p. 400.

observed truces, but to prosecute the war with A.D. 1344. vigour, till he obtained an honourable peace; and to enable him to follow this advice, they granted him an aid of two-fifteenths from the counties, and two-tenths from the cities and burghs. The clergy of the province of Canterbury, at the same time, granted him the tenths of their livings for three years 123. He also used another means of filling his coffers (frequently practifed in those times), by fummoning all the gentlemen in England who had 40l. a-year to come, by August 10., to receive the honour of knighthood, or pay a fum of money to be excused. 124

Edward having published a manifesto, contain- War with ing his reasons for renewing the war before the ex- France. piration of the truce, fent a fmall reinforcement into Britanny to affift the partifans of John de Mountfort, and a greater body of troops into Guienne, under his cousin Henry of Lancaster Earl of Derby, and some other English noblemen 125. The Earl of Derby acquired great honour to himfelf and to the English arms, by taking many towns, and defeating the French army commanded by the Count de L'Isle, though greatly superior to his own in numbers 126. After these successes, Derby put his little army into winter-quarters at Bourdeaux, and returned to England to folicit a reinforcement.

<sup>123</sup> Knyghton, col. 2584. Rymer, vol. 5. p. 430.

<sup>124</sup> Rymer, vol. 5. p. 416.

Avefbury, p. 115-121. 125 Froissart, l. I. c. 103.

<sup>125</sup> Froissart, l. I. c. 104-109.

War in Gafcony and Britanny.

A.D. 1345. The Pope made fome proposals in the beginning of this year, for renewing the conferences for a peace; but Edward, who had other defigns in view, declined giving his confent 127. John de Mountfort, who had languished four years in prison, made his escape in February, by the affistance of fome beggars, and foon after came over to England, where he did homage to Edward as King of France, for the duchy of Britanny, on May 20., and returned in June with some English troops to support his pretensions 723. By the affiftance of these troops he gained some advantages, but did not long enjoy his liberty and good fortune, dying of a fever at Hennebon, on September 16. The Earl of Derby, who returned to Guienne in June, made a campaign no less glorious and fuccessful than the former. 129

Edward's defigns in Flanders difappointed.

About this time Edward conceived the hopes of obtaining the earldom of Flanders for his eldeft fon (lately created Prince of Wales) by the intrigues of his great friend James d'Arteville the factious brewer of Ghent. To favour these intrigues he failed from Sandwich on July 3., accompanied by the Prince of Wales and a splendid train of English noblemen, and landed at Sluys. But this project was disconcerted by the death of D'Arteville, who was tornin pieces, July 17., by his great friends the mob of Ghent, whose passions had taken a dif-

<sup>127</sup> Rymer, vol. 5. p. 433. 439. 446. 448.

<sup>128</sup> Hift. Geneal. de la France, vol. 1. p. 452.

<sup>129</sup> Rymer, vol. 5. p. 458, 459.

ferent turn 130. The miscarriage of this scheme A.D. 1345. put an end to all thoughts of invading France ' from the fide of Flanders, and Edward returned to England, July 26. 131

It must appear surprising, that the Earl of Der- A.D. 1346. by was permitted to carry on his conquests in Edward Guienne for two years with little opposition. This fleet and was probably owing to the diforder of the finances army to of France at that time, and to the difficulties Earl of which Philip met with in establishing feveral me- Derby in thods of filling his coffers. Thefe difficulties being now overcome, John Duke of Normandy marched into Guienne, at the head of 100,000 men, and threatened the reduction of that province 132. Edward being informed by the Earl of Derby of this danger, prepared a great fleet and strong army for his relief, and the preservation of Guienne. But these preparations met with many interruptions and delays; and, even after the troops were embarked, the fleet (which confifted of 1000 fail) was detained at Portsmouth from the beginning of June to the 10th of July by contrary winds. 133

prepares a affift the Gafcony.

Godfrey de Harcourt, a Norman nobleman, Edward having been affronted and injured by the King of invades France, had lately fled to the court of England, dv. and now held the fame place in the favour and confidence of Edward, which Robert d'Artois had formerly poffeffed. This nobleman perfuaded

<sup>130</sup> Rymer, vol. 5. p. 474. Froisfart, l. 1. c. 16.

Avefbury, p. 122. Knyghton, col. 2585. Walfing. p. 165.

<sup>132</sup> Froissart, t. 1. C. 119.

<sup>133</sup> Rymer, vol. 5. p. 493. 508. 514. 518. Avefbury, p. 123.

A.D.1346. Edward to change his defign, and, instead of failing to Guienne, where his enemies were ready to oppose him, to invade Normandy, which was a very wealthy province, wholly unguarded, and would be a very valuable and eafy prey 134. Liftening to this wife advice, he failed from St. Helen's July 10., and landed at La Hogue in Normandy two days after. In this expedition he was attended by the Prince of Wales, now fifteen years of age, by the flower of the English nobility, 4000 men at arms, 10,000 archers, and 18,000 foot, an army not half fo numerous as that with which he hadformerly invaded France from the fide of Flanders, but far more formidable, as being composed of his own fubjects, and wholly under his command. The troops had been fo long on shipboard that it was thought proper to allow them fix days to rest and refresh themselves before they entered upon action 135. After this the fleet visited the feveral fea-ports on the coafts, and deftroved the shipping: while the army, divided into three bodies, ravaged the open country, and took and plundered the towns, which were ill fortified and worse defended. In a few weeks the troops collected an immense booty, which was put on board the fleet, and fent into England. 136

Edward's progress in Normandy.

As foon as Philip heard of this invafion, he fummoned all his allies, with all the military tenants of the crown of France, except those in the army in Guienne, to rendezvous with their forces at

<sup>134</sup> Froissart, l. r. c. 121. 135 Avefbury, p. 124.

St. Denis: and in the mean time he marched in per- A.D. 1346. fon, at the head of all the troops he could collect, to Rouen, to fecure that capital. It was not long before the King of England appeared with his army in fight of that city, with a defign to affault it; but not daring to pass the Seine in the face of the French army, he marched along the banks of that river; plundering and burning all the country to the very gates of Paris 137. But he could no where find an opportunity of passing the river; all the bridges being broken down, and the enemy's army attending all his motions on the oppofite banks, with a defign to inclose him in the country, and furround him and his army.

Edward extricated himself by a stratagem. Edward Having fecretly prepared materials for repairing paffes the the bridge at Poissy, he commanded his army to marches decamp, and march further up the river; but in-towards stantly returned, repaired the bridge, and passed over his army with great celerity, while the enemy, having heard of his departure from Poiffy, were purfuing their march up the river. Having thus passed the Seine, and thrown the French army behind him, he marched with great diligence towards Flanders, defeating the militia of Amiens. and a party of men at arms belonging to the King of Bohemia, and burning the fuburbs of Beauvais in his march. 138

Seine, and Flanders.

But when he approached the Somme he found Edward himself in a more dangerous situation than be- passes the

<sup>187</sup> Froissart, 1.1. c.125. Avesbury, p. 127-129.

A.D. 1346. fore. All the bridges on that river were broken down, an army commanded by Gondimar de Fave appeared on the opposite bank to dispute his passage; and the King of France was at his heels, at the head of 100,000 men. In this extremity, he published a reward of 100 nobles to any one who would shewhim a ford. A French peafant named Gobin Agarre, tempted by the hopes of this reward, came to Edward, and promifed to conduct him to a ford between Abbeville and the fea, which might be paffed at low water. Following this guide, and marching all night, the English army arrived at the ford of Blanchetaque about fun-rifing, August 24.; where they passed the river, beat the army under Gondimar de Fave, and encamped that night at Novelle, and arrived the next day at Crecy. 139

pulles the

Edward O. halts at Crecy.

Though Edward had thus far overcome all obstacles, and eluded or defeated all his enemies, he became fenfible, that it would be extremely dangerous to purfue his march, with an army fo much fuperior to his own, especially in cavalry, hanging on his rear. He determined therefore to make a fland, and to give his purfuers a check. For this purpose he chose his ground with great judgment, on the gentle declivity of a hill, with a thick wood in his rear. He ordered deep entrenchments to be made on each flank, and waited with firmness the approach of his enemies.

Philip reaches Crecy.

The King of France dreading nothing fo much as the escape of the English, began the march of his

great army from Abbeville early in the morning, A.D. 1346. August 26., and continued several hours with great eagerness, till he received intelligence that the English had halted at Crecy, and were prepared to give him battle. He was advised, at the fame time, not to engage that day, when his troops were much fatigued with their march, and in great diforder; and he was disposed to have taken this advice. But the discipline of these times was fo imperfect, that the orders given for halting were not obeyed; and one corps of this mighty hoft impelling another, they continued advancing till they came into the presence of their enemies in much confusion.

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Edward had employed the forenoon of this im- English portant day in drawing up his army in the most order of excellent order in three lines. The first line. which confifted of 800 men at arms, 4000 English archers, and 600 Welch foot, was commanded by his young, amiable, and heroic fon, the Prince of Wales, affifted by the Earls of Warwick and Oxford, and feveral other noblemen; the fecond line, composed of 800 men at arms, 4000 halbardiers, and 2400 archers, was led by the Earls of Arundel and Northampton; the last line or body of referve, in which were 700 men at arms, 5300 billmen, and 6000 archers, was ranged along the fummit of the hill, and conducted by the King in person, attended by the Lords Moubray, Mortimer, and others.

When the army was completely formed, Ed- Edward ward rode along the lines, and by his words and refreshes

and encou-

looks

A.D. 1346. rages his army.

looks inspired his troops with the most ardent courage and strongest hopes of victory. He then commanded the cavalry to difmount, and the whole army to fit down upon the grafs, in their ranks, and refresh themselves with meat, drink, and reft. As foon as the French army came in view, they forung from the ground, full of strength and fpirit, and stood ready to receive them.

French order of battle.

The King of France, affifted by the Kings of Bohemia and Majorca, the Dukes of Lorraine and Savoye, and feveral other fovereign princes, with the flower of the French nobility, laboured to reftore some degree of order to his prodigious army, and drew it up also in three lines, but very indiftinctly formed. The first line was commanded in chief by the King of Bohemia; the fecond by the Earl of Alenson, the King of France's brother; and the third by Philip in person; and each of these lines contained a greater number of troops than the whole English army.

The battle of Crecy was begun about three o'clock in the afternoon, August 26., by a great body of Genoese cross-bow men, in the French fervice, who let fly their quarrels at too great a distance to do any execution, and were presently routed by a shower of arrows from the English archers. The Earl of Alenson, after trampling to death many of the flying Genocle, advanced to the charge, and made a furious attack on that corps commanded by the Prince of Wales. The Earls of Arundel and Northampton advanced with the fecond line to fustain the Prince, and Alenson was

**fupported** 

fupported by as many troops as could crowd to his A.D. 1346. affiftance. Here the battle raged for some time with uncommon fury; and the Earl of Warwick. anxious for the fate of the day and the fafety of the Prince, fent a meffenger to the King, intreating him to advance with the third line. Edward, who had taken his fland on a wind-mill on the top of the hill, from whence he had a full view of both armies, asked the messenger, if his fon was unhorfed, or wounded, or killed; and being answered, that the Prince was unhurt, and performing prodigies of valour, "Go then," faid he, " and tell my fon and his brave companions, that " I will not deprive them of any part of the glory " of their victory." This flattering message being made known, inspired the Prince and his troops with redoubled ardour; and the King of Bohemia, the Earl of Alenfon, and many other great men being flain, the whole first and second lines of the French army were put to flight. Philip, undifmayed at the flaughter of his troops, and the fall of fo many princes, advanced to the charge with the line under his immediate command. But this body foon shared the same fate with the other two; and Philip, after having been unhorfed, and wounded in the neck and thigh, was carried off the field by John de Hainault, and fled with no more than five knights, and about fixty foldiers in his company, of all his mighty army, which at the beginning of the battle confifted of more than 120,000 men. Such was the famous

A.D. 1346. famous victory of Crecy, the greatest ever gained by any king of England. 140.

Behaviour of Edward and the Prince of Wales.

After the battle, the King flew into the arms of the Prince of Wales, and grasping him to his bofom, cried, in an ecstacy of joy, " My dear son, " you have this day shewed yourself worthy of "the knighthood which you lately received, and " of the crown for which you have fo bravely " fought; persevere in your honourable course." The Prince, as modest as he was brave, sunk down on his knees, his face covered with blushes, and begged his father's bleffing. 141

Loss of the French.

Edward continued with his army at Crecy three days employed in numbering and burying the dead. The French had left on this bloody fcene the King of Bohemia, eleven other princes, 80 bannerets, 1200 knights, 1500 gentlemen, 4000 men at arms, and 30,000 other foldiers. 143

Success of the English in Guienne.

Never did a more glorious year than this pass over the head of any English monarch, the arms of Edward being every were crowned with the most brilliant fuccesses. In Guienne the Duke of Normandy had been obliged to raife the fiege of Aiguillon with precipitation, on August 20., after having loft a great part of his army before its walls. in many vain affaults; and the Earl of Derby made

<sup>140</sup> Froissart, l. 1. c. 128, 129, 130, 131, 132. Walfing. p. 166. Knyghton, p. 2588. Avefbury, p. 109. Rymer, vol. 5. p. 525. 141 Froissart, l. 1. c. 131.

<sup>142</sup> Id. ibid. c. 132. Knyghton, p. 2588.

himself master of that whole province, with all A.D. 1346. its ftrong places. 143

David Bruce, King of Scotland, having, at the David instigation of France, invaded England with an Bruce army of 50,000 men, was, on October 12., at Scotland Nevil's crofs, near Durham, defeated in a great defeated of battle, taken prisoner, and carried to the tower prisoner. of London 144. The parliament of England, dazzled with the luftre of fo many victories, granted the King a very large fupply, to enable him to profecute the war with vigour.

Edward marched his victorious army from A.D. 1347. Crecy, September 1., through the Boulonnois, to- Siege of wards Calais, which he invefted on the 8th of that month; and being well acquainted with its importance, he refolved to make himfelf mafter of it if possible; but soon found that it could not be taken by force, without the destruction of great multitudes of his men. He therefore turned the fiege into a blockade; and having made ftrong entrenchments to fecure his army from the enemy, huts to protect them from the inclemency of the weather, and stationed a fleet before the harbour to prevent the introduction of provisions, he refolved to wait with patience till the place fell into his hands by famine. The befieged, discovering his intention, turned feventeen hundred women, children, and old people, out of the town to

<sup>143</sup> Froissart, t.1. c.134, 135, 136.

<sup>144</sup> Avefbury, p. 142. Knyghton, p. 2590. Froissart, 1.1. c. 137, 138, 139. Rymer, vol. 5. p. 530. 537. 539.

AD.1347.

fave their provisions; and Edward had the goodness, after entertaining them with a dinner, and giving them two pence a piece, to suffer them to pass. 145

Victory in Britanny. While Edward lay before Calais, his troops in Britanny, commanded by Sir Thomas Dagworth, defeated Charles de Blois, June 20., and took him, with two of his fons, and many other noblemen, prifoners. 145

Fruitless attempt to raise the siege.

Philip beheld the progress of the siege of Calais with unspeakable anxiety, and determining to make one great effort to save it, he summoned all his allies and vassals to rendezvous at Amiens, in Whitsun-week. By this means he raised an army of 150,000 men, with which he approached the English entrenchments, July 27. 147 But sinding these entrenchments impregnable, and every avenue to the town effectually guarded, aftersending Edward some absurd challenges to come out and sight him, he decamped, August 2., marched back to Amiens, and disbanded his army. 148

Surrender of Calais.

The garrison and inhabitants of Calais had by this time confumed all their provisions, and even eaten all the horses, dogs, cats, and vermin, in the place, and were enduring the most cruel extremities of famine, in hopes of relief <sup>149</sup>. But when they beheld the retreat of the French army, these hopes entirely vanished; and the next day the go-

<sup>145</sup> Froissart, l. I. c. 133.

<sup>145</sup> Rymer, vol. 5. p. 540. Avefbury, p. 114. Froisfart, l. 1. c. 143.
147 Froisfart, l. 1. c. 144.
148 Id. ibid. c. 145. Avefbury,
p. 161, 162.
149 Knyghton, col. 2593.

vernor John de Vienne appeared upon the walls, A.D. 1247. and offered to capitulate. Edward, greatly incenfed at their obstinate resistance, which had detained him eleven months under their walls, at an immense expence both of men and money, fent Sir Walter Manny, an illustrious knight, to acquaint the governor, that he would grant them no terms; but that they must surrender at discretion. At length, however, at the spirited remonstrances of the governor, and the perfuasions of Sir Walter Manny, Edward confented to grant their lives to all the garrison and inhabitants, except fix of the principal burgeffes, who should deliver to him the keys of the city, with ropes about their necks. When thefe terms were made known to the people of Calais, they were plunged into the deepest distress; and after all the miseries they had fuffered, they could not think without horror of giving up fix of their fellow-citizens to certain death. In this extremity, when the whole people were drowned in tears, and uncertain what to do, Eustace de Pierre, one of the richest merchants in the place, stepped forth, and voluntarily offered himself to be one of these six devoted victims. His noble example was foon imitated by other five of the most wealthy citizens. These true patriots, barefooted and bareheaded, with ropes about their necks, were attended to the gates by the whole inhabitants, with tears, bleffings, and prayers for their fafety. When they were brought into Edward's presence, they laid the keys of the city at his feet, and falling on their VOL. VII.

A.D. 1347, their knees implored his mercy in fuch moving strains, that all the noble spectators melted into tears. The King's refentment was fo strong for the many toils and loffes he had fuffered in this tedious fiege, that he was in some danger of forgetting his usual humanity; when the Queen, falling upon her knees before him, earneftly begged, and obtained, their lives. This great and good princess conducted these virtuous citizens, whose lives she had faved, to her own apartment, entertained them honourably, and dismissed them with prefents. 150

> Edward took poffession of Calais August 4., and in order to fecure a conquest of so great importance, and which had cost him so dear, he found it necessary to turn out all the ancient inhabitants, who had discovered so strong an attachment to their native prince, and to people it with English 151. Soon after this, negotiations for a peace or truce were fet on foot under the mediation of the Pope; and on September 28., a truce was concluded between the Kings of England and France, and their allies on both fides, to continue to July 8., next year; which by fucceeding treaties was prolonged to 1355. 152 Edward having given all necessary orders for repairing the fortifications of Calais, and appointed Almerie of Pavia, an Italian, who had gained his favour by feveral brave actions, commander of that place, he em-

Froissart, l.1. c. 146. R. de Avesbury, p. 166.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> Rymer, vol. 5. p. 575.

<sup>152</sup> Id. ibid. p. 588. R. de Avesbury, p. 167—177.

barked with his Queen, the Prince of Wales, and A.D. 1347. many noble persons, and after a stormy passage landed at Sandwich, October 12, 153

It had been the wife policy of Edward to ac- A.D. 1348. quaint his parliament with all his proceedings, and ask their advice on every emergency; by which he gained their confidence and support. Soon after his return, he summoned a parliament to meet, January 14., at Westminster, whose advice he asked concerning the war with France (which was only suspended by a short truce), and concerning the best means of preserving the internal peace of the kingdom. The commons, who had paid very dear for the martial counfels they had formerly given, declined giving any advice about the war, which they suspected would be followed by the demand of a fublidy 154. This parliament not answering the King's views, who wanted an aid, though he had not the confidence to ask it, he dismissed them; and soon after summoned another to meet at the fame place, March 17. Before this meeting he laid an alarming representation of mighty preparations making in France, with a defign, as he faid, to invade England, and destroy the whole kingdom; and demanded an aid to enable him to avert this imminent danger. The commons after very bitter complaints of their extreme poverty, and of the late fevere taxations, granted three-fifteenths to

<sup>153</sup> Rymer, vol.5. p. 594. Walfing. p. 167.

<sup>154</sup> Parliamentary Hift. vol. 1. p. 268-272.

A.D. 1248, be levied in three years, and appropriated to the charges of the war. 155

Plot to bediscovered.

Edward foon found that he had made a very tray Calais wrong choice of a governor for his new conquest of Calais. That ungrateful and venal Italian had allowed himself to be corrupted by Geoffrey de Charnay, governor of St. Omer's, and engaged for a bribe of 20,000 crowns to betray the town and castle into his hands. Edward received intelligence of this intended treachery, fent for him to London, shewed him that he was acquainted with his guilt; but promifed him a pardon, if he would proceed in his plot, and betray the French into his hands. Almerie joyfully confented to this propofal, returned to his government, and informed Edward of the very hour when the French were to enter Calais.

A.D. 1349. Plot defeated.

The King having received this intelligence, departed fecretly from London, with the Prince of Wales, and embarked at Dover with 800 men at arms, and 1000 archers, under Sir Walter Manny, with whom he was very privately admitted into the caftle of Calais. A few hours after his admiffion, a body of 100 French were let into the same caftle; and having delivered the 20,000 crowns to the governor, a party of English rushed upon them, killed fome, and made the reft prifoners. Geoffrey de Charnay, with feveral brave knights, and a body of men at arms, were waiting in the mean time with great impatience at the Boulogne

<sup>155</sup> Parliament. Hift. vol. 1. p. 269-272. Knyghton, c. 2596.

gate of the city, in expectation of being admitted. A.D. 1340. But when the gate was opened, they beheld, to their great furprife, an English army march out in order of battle to receive them. Though the French were greatly disconcerted at this unexpected fight, they fought for fome time with great resolution. During this dispute the King had a fierce conflict with Eustace de Ribeaumont, a brave knight, whom he obliged to yield; and all the party were either killed or taken prisoners. 156

As Edward was a great admirer of personal va- Generous lour, he ordered all the French knights and gen- action of tlemen to be feasted by the Prince of Wales in the great hall of the caftle. The King entered the hall in the time of the banquet, and discovered to his prisoners, that he had been present at the late conflict, and was the person who had fought hand to hand with the Sieur Ribeaumont. Then addressing himself to that gentleman, he gave him hisliberty; presented him with a chaplet adorned with pearls, which he defired him to wear for his fake; and declared him to be the most expert and valorous knight with whom he had ever engaged.157

Edward having divested Almerie de Pavia of Edward his command, of which he was fo unworthy, and returns to bestowed it on Sir John Beauchamp, returned with the Prince of Wales to England, to enjoy fome repose after so many glorious toils and dangers.

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deleated

<sup>156</sup> Avesbury, p. 180-182. Froissart, l. 1. c. 50, 51.

<sup>157</sup> Froissart. l.1. c.150, 151, 152.

Great peftilence.

The war between France and England was fufpended for almost fix years by several truces 158. But the calamities of war were immediately fucceeded by a depopulating peftilence, which, in this and the fucceeding year, carried offincredible multitudes in all parts of Europe, and particularly in England 159. Those who were seized with this plague commonly died in a few hours, and very few furvived three days. It raged with fo great violence in London, that 50,000 persons were buried in one year in one burial-place 160. In a word, if we may believe fome writers, this dreadful disease swept away, in less than two years, nine-tenths of all the people of England, together with the far greatest part of the cattle of all kinds 161. But these accounts are certainly very much exaggerated.

Naval victory.

A.D. 1350. While England was afflicted with this destructive peftilence, it was threatened with an invafion by a fleet of Spanish pirates, consisting of forty very large ships. Edward, full of spirit and activity, thinking this an enemy not unworthy of his own presence, sailed from Sandwich on board an English fleet, attended by many of his chief nobility, in quest of these destructive rovers. He came up with them, August 29., off Winchelfey, where a fierce conflict enfued; in which the Spaniards were

<sup>158</sup> Rymer, vol. 5. p. 660. 672. 690. 722. 725.

<sup>259</sup> R. de Avesbury, p. 177-179. Knyghton, c. 2598.

<sup>160</sup> Stow's Survey, vol. 2. p. 62.

<sup>161</sup> Id. ibid. p.61. Knyghton, p.2699. Walfing p.168.

defeated with great flaughter, and twenty-four of A.D. 1350. their fhips taken. 162

A few days before this naval victory, died Death of Philip de Valois, King of France, firnamed the Philip de Fortunate, a title which very ill agreed with the latter part of his reign. He was fucceeded by his eldest son John I., a prince still more unfortunate than his father 163. One of the first acts of this King was renewing the truce with England: which however was very ill observed. 164

The animofity between the English and French A.D. 1352. was fo great, that neither the peftilence, which Parliahad raged with great violence in both countries. nor the truce which subfisted between them. could reftrain them from mutual hostilities. For this reason Edward complained to a parliament, which met in January A. D. 1352., that the French had been guilty of many violations of the truce: and demanded their advice and affiftance in avenging these injuries, and afferting his claim to the crown of France. The commons, after fome days fpent in deliberation, delivered to the King in full parliament, a roll, containing a grant of three-tenths and three-fiftieths, to be levied in three years, together with certain petitions, which they defired might be converted into laws. The aid was thankfully accepted, and the petitions mostly granted. 165

<sup>262</sup> Walfing. p. 169. R. de Avesbury, p. 185.

<sup>163</sup> Avefbury, p. 184. 164 Rymer, vol. 5. p. 690.

<sup>165</sup> Parliament. Hift. vol. 1. p. 277.

A.D.1352. Action in Britanny.

It would be tedious to relate all the little fkirmishes which had happened between the English and French in Guienne, Britanny, the marches of Calais, and other places, fince the commencement of the truce. But there was an action this. year in Britanny of fuch importance, that it feems to merit a place in history. The Marshal de Nesle, who commanded for the King of France and Charles de Blois in that duchy, furprifed and furrounded a body of English troops, under Sir Walter Bently, August 14., on the plain of Mauron, near Rennes. But the English fought with fuch aftonishing valour, that they obtained a complete victory, killing the Marshal himself with eighty knights, and five hundred gentlemen, and taking a hundred and fixty knights and gentlemen prisoners. 166

A.D. 1353. Negotiation for peace unfuccessful. Notwithstanding all his glorious successes in his war with France, Edward at this time seems to have been sincerely inclined to peace, which was negotiating under the mediation of the Pope. He went so far as to offer by his plenipotentiaries, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Duke of Lancaster, to resign his title of King of France, and accept, in lieu of all his pretensions to that crown, the absolute sovereignty of Guienne, Aquitaine, the town and marches of Calais, without the obligation of homage. But King John, no less imprudent, rash, and obstinate, than his father, rejected these offers. 167

166 Avefbury, p. 189-192.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>167</sup> R. de Avesbury, p.196. Walsing. p.170. Knyghton, p.2607.

The state of France at this time was not such A.D. 1354. as to give King John any good reason for behaving with fo much haughtiness. Besides the great France. loffes which it had fuftained in the late war, it was at present a scene of faction and discord, which had in some places broken out into open hostilities. These disorders were occasioned chiefly by the pride, perfidy, cruelty, and other vices of Charles the Bad, King of Navarre, a prince poffeffed of every shining endowment, and destitute of every moral virtue. Charles inherited from his mother, Jane, daughter of Louis Hutin, great poffessions, and still greater pretensions, in several provinces of France. King John, in order to gain this turbulent prince, and attach him firmly to his interests, gave him his daughter Jane in marriage. Notwithstanding this intimate alliance, the perfidious Charles entered into fecret intrigues with the King of England, caufed the conftable of France to be affaffinated, and occasioned great disturbances in this and the preceding year 168. When things were in this unfettled flate, the conferences for an accommodation were broken off, and all prospect of peace vanished.

Edward had for some time past forseen that the A.D. 1355. negotiations for peace would prove abortive, and Expedition had made great preparations for renewing the war with vigour, at midfummer this year, when the Wales truce expired. He first designed to have sent an army, commanded by the Duke of Lancaster, into Black Normandy, where the King of Navarre had pro-

of Edward Prince of commonly called the

A.D. 1355, mifed to join him with all his forces. But that prince having made his peace with his father-inlaw, Edward was obliged to change his meafures 169. The Prince of Wales was fent into the west to raise an army in those parts, and a fleet was prepared at Plymouth to take them on board. Accordingly, the Prince, with a gallant train of English noblemen, and a considerable body of English troops, sailed from that port, September 10., and arrived fafe at Bourdeaux. Herehewasjoined by fo many noblemen of the country, with their followers, that he foon found himfelf at the head of an army of 60,000 men, with which he marched from Bourdeaux, October 5., and ravaged the whole province of Languedoc. He feveral times endeavoured to bring the French army in those parts to an engagement; but finding this impoffible, after having burnt about five hundred villages, and a great number of large and strong towns, he marched back to Bourdeaux about Christmas, and put his army into winter quarters. 170

Expedition of Edward into France.

To some 9

While the Prince of Wales was destroying with fire and fword the fouth of France, the King of England was fpreading defolation through the northern parts of that kingdom. Arriving at Calais in the last week of October, and having joined the forces he brought with him to those which he found there, he made up a gallant army, with which he marched from Calais, November 2.,

Mezeray ad an. 1354.

Mezeray ad an. 1354. Froiffart, c. 154.
 Avefbury, p. 210—227. Knyghton, col. 2608.

towards St. Omer's, where the King of France A.D. 1355. lay in hopes of bringing him to battle. But that prince retiring at his approach, he followed him as far as Heiden, defolating the country; and then returned to Calais, disbanded his army, and embarked for England, where his presence was much wanted. 171

Paliet to

The Scots, though their King was still aprisoner The Scots in England, had taken the town of Berwick by furprife, on November 6., and were meditating an incursion into the northern counties 172. Edward. A parliaimmediately upon his return, held a parliament at Westminster, November 23.; and Sir Walter Manny, by the King's command, gave the two houses a long detail of the late negotiations for a peace, the expedition to Calais, and the furprifal of Berwick by the Scots; and concluded with demanding an aid to enable the King to bring the war to a speedy and happy issue. The commons, after fome deliberation, granted a very liberal aid of fifty shillings on every fack of wool exported for fix years. 173

furprife Berwick.

Edward as foon as the parliament was diffolved, A.D. 1356. fet out for Newcastle, where he had commanded Edward his army to rendezvous, in order to recover Berwick, which he invested January 14., A.D. 1356. 174 The Scotch garrison, sensible that the town was not tenable without the castle (which they had not been able to take), furrendered it in a few days 175. Edward having burnt the

retakes Berwick.

<sup>191</sup> Avefbury, p. 204-209. Walfing. p. 171.

<sup>172</sup> R. de Avesbury, p. 209. Knyghton, col. 2611.

<sup>173</sup> R. de Avesbury, p. 210. 174 Rymer, t.5. p. 829.

Knyghton, col. 2611. R. de Avesbury, p. 228.

A.D. 1356. towns of Haddington and Edinburgh, and desolated the adjacent country, returned to England foon after Candlemas.

Baliol refigns the crown of Scotland to Edward.

Edward Baliol still bore the title of King of Scotland. But for feveral years past that title had been only an empty name, without any power or revenue. It was not difficult therefore to perfuade this shadow of a king, who was now an old man, and without heirs, to refign all his rights to the crown and kingdom of Scotland to the King of England, for a pension of 2000l. a year, and fome other advantages. This he accordingly did at Roxburgh, by an inftrument dated January 20.; and Edward was at great pains to render his title to the crown of Scotland, from the refignation of Baliol, as ftrong as pen, ink, and parchment could make it, by feveral fubsequent deeds. 176

Excursions of Edward Prince of Wales.

Edward Prince of Wales marched from Bourdeaux, July 6., with an army of 12,000 (some writers fay only 8000) men, and traverfed the countries of Agenois, Quercy, Limoufin, Auvergne, and penetrated into Berry, plundering and burning many towns and villages as he advanced. Having taken Romorantin, September 4., aftera fiege of fix days, he continued his march through part of Touraine and Anjou, entered Poictou, and on Saturday September 17., encamped at Maupertuis, within two small leagues of Poictiers. The same evening the King of France, with an army of 60,000 horse, besides foot, encamped

176 Rymer, t.5. p. 823. 843. Knyghton, col. 2611.

R. de Ayethory; p. s.s.8.

within

within a mile of the English 177. It would not A.D 1356. have been very difficult for King John to have inclosed the Prince of Wales and his little army, and to have reduced them by famine. But this method appeared too flow to his impatient courage, and he refolved to attack them next day. Prince Edward having found that it would be impossible for him to reach Bourdeaux, before he was overtaken by the French army, had chosen his ground with great judgment, where he resolved to make a ftand. It was a fmall inclining plain, furrounded with woods, vineyards, hedges, and ditches, and only accessible by one narrow defile in his front. His troops laboured with great ardour in making entrenchments wherever it was thought necessary, to render the approaches of the enemy still more difficult.

Early on Sunday morning, September 18., the Cardinal French army was drawn up in order of battle, and Perigord ready to begin the attack, when the Cardinal of Perigord interposed, and earnestly intreated the a battle. King to permit him to go to the Prince of Wales, and prevent the effusion of blood, by persuading him to furrender. Having obtained permission, he went to the Prince, whom he found at the head of his troops ready to receive his enemies. The Cardinal opened the intention of his vifit; and the Prince not infentible of his own danger, and that of his brave companions, declared his willingness to confent to any terms not inconfiftent with his own honour and that of his country. Upon this.

endeavours to prevent

<sup>177</sup> Froiffart. c. 157-189. Walfing. p. 171. Knyghton, col. 2612.

A.D.1366, a negotiation was fet on foot, which prevented a battle for that day, but in the end proved abortive. The Prince confented to restore all the places, prifoners, and booty he had taken that campaign, and to engage not to bear arms against France for feven years, if he was allowed to march to Bourdeaux without interruption. But the King infifting that the whole English army, with their illustrious leader, should surrender themselves prisoners, the Prince gave for his final answer, "That he never fliould be made a prisoner " but fword in hand." The Cardinal, despairing of fuccess in the negotiation, retired to Poictiers; and both parties prepared for deciding this important quarrel next day by the edge of the fword. 178

The order of the English army.

Early on Monday morning, September 10., the Prince of Wales, being that day to fight for honour, liberty, and life, against an army eight times the number of his own, drew up his troops in the most excellent order. He placed the Captal de Buche, with 600 men, in ambush, with directions to make a circuit, and fall on the enemy's rear as foon as the battle began. He lined the hedges on both fides of the defile leading to his camp with his best archers, and placed a strong body of the same troops at the head of it, in the front of his army. The rest of his forces were formed into three lines; the van commanded by the Earl of Warwick, the main body by the Prince himself, and the rear by the Earls of Salisbury and Suffolk. As foon as these dispositions were made,

178 Froiffart, 1. 1. c. 161. Walfing. p.172.

the

the Prince mounted his horfe, and riding gently A.D. 1356. along the lines, with a countenance in which modefty, goodness, and fortitude, were strongly painted, addressed himself to every corps, exhorting them to fight valiantly in the approaching battle, telling them, that victory did not depend on numbers, but on the will of Heaven; that, for his own part, he was determined to conquer or die; and that England never should have his ranfom to pay. 179

By this time the French army (drawn up in Battle of three lines, the first commanded by the Duke of Poictiers. Orleans, the King's brother, the fecond by the Dauphin, with his two brothers Lewis and John. the third by the King, attended by his youngest fon Philip) was advancing to the charge. The battle was begun by three hundred chosen men in complete armour, and nobly mounted, who were ordered to pass the defile to diffipate the body of archers at the head of it, and make way for the rest of the army. They obeyed these orders with great resolution; but one half of them fell in the passage, and the other was cut in pieces at the A great body of men at arms, on foot, then entered the defile, commanded by the Marshals Clermont and Andrechan: but the former of these generals being killed, and the latter taken prisoner, and many of their men flain by the archers who lined the hedges, and by the first line of the English army, the rest sled back with great

A.D. 1356, terror and precipitation, and threw the whole first line of the French army into confusion. The fecond line, commanded by the Dauphin, then advanced to the charge; but at that inflant the Captal de Buche iffuing from his ambufcade, and making a furious attack upon their flank, they were feized with a panic, and began to fly. The noblemen who had the charge of the Dauphin and his two brothers, anxious for their fafety, carried them off the field; upon which that whole line difbanded, and fled on all fides. The Prince of Wales and the other English generals observing the confusion and flight of their numerous enemies, and determining not to give them time to recover from their consternation, mounted on horseback, with their followers, and rushing out into the plain, completed the diforder. They first encountered and killed the Duke of Athenes. Conftable of France, and diffipated his brigade: and then falling upon a great body of German horse, they put them to flight, after killing the Counts Sarbruck and Nydo, two of their leaders, and taking the Count of Nassau, their other general, prisoner. The King of France, with his youngest son by his fide, still continued fighting on foot, in hopes of changing the fortune of the day, till the greatest part of his guards being taken or flain, he found himfelf almost alone among a great body of his enemies, who called upon him to furrender. After inquiring anxiously for his cousin the Prince of Wales, and being told that he was in a diftant part of the field, he yielded himfelf, 103397

himself, with his son, prisoners to Denis de A.D. 1356. Morbec, a gentleman of Artois. In the mean time the Prince of Wales, ready to faint with fatigue, had been perfuaded by his attendants to repose and refresh himself in a little tent. Being affured that the King of France had not fled, he was anxious to know his fate, and fent the Earl of Warwick and Lord Cobham to gain intelligence. These noblemen soon found the royal captive in extreme danger of being flain, by a crowd of English and Gascon soldiers, who had taken him from Morbec, and were contending violently about the right to his ranfom; and having delivered him from this danger, they conducted him to the Prince's tent. This amiable Prince. who in the heat of the action had been furious as a lion, was now all gentleness and humanity. He received his illustrious prisoner with all the marks of the most profound respect and feeling fympathy; and having ordered a magnificent supper to be ferved up, he declined the honour of fitting at table; but, standing behind the King's chair, entertained him with foothing and confolatory discourse. The captive monarch was fo much affected by this noble deportment of his modest conqueror, that he melted into tears, and declared, that fince it was his hard fate to be vanguished and taken prisoner, he rejoiced that he had fallen into the hands of the most valiant and generous Prince that ever lived. 180

<sup>180</sup> Froissart, l. 1. c. 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164. Walling: p. 171, 172. Rymer, vol. 5. p. 869, 870. There

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A.D. 1356. French killed and taken.

There are not many examples in history of fo great a deliverance, and fo complete a victory, as the Prince of Wales obtained at this famous battle of Poictiers. The French left dead on this scene of blood, two dukes, nineteen earls, a great number of knights and gentlemen, and about 6000 men at arms, besides other foldiers. The prifoners were still more numerous, and of higher quality, than the flain: for, befides the King and his youngest fon, there were taken three princes of the blood, one archbishop, seventeen earls, 1500 inferior barons, knights, and gentlemen; befides feveral thousand men at arms 181. ranfoms of these prisoners, and the spoils of the French camp, loaded the English army with riches as well as glory. The day after the battle the Prince and his army returned thanks to God for their victory; after which the Prince thanked his troops for their brave and gallant behaviour in the late battle, and bestowed particular honours and rewards on fuch as had diftinguished themselves. To the Lord Audeleyin particular he granted 500 marks a-year; which that generous nobleman beflowed on his four brave and faithful efguires, and afterwards received a more ample grant of 600 marks a-year from the Prince 182. Having collected the spoils and prisoners, the Prince conducted his army by eafy marches to Bourdeaux 183. It is impossible to express the joy which the royal

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>191</sup> P. Æmyl. p. 197. R. de Avesbury, p. 252—255. Knyghton, col. 2613, &c.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>162</sup> Froiffart, l.1. e.165. 167. 169. <sup>183</sup> Walfing. p. 172. family

family and the people of England felt when they A.D. 1256. received the news of this glorious victory. The King commanded a folemu thankfgiving to be observed in all the churches. 184

The Prince of Wales spent the winter at Bour. A.D. 1357. deaux, where, by the mediation of the Pope, a Prince of truce was concluded between England and France with his March 23., to continue till Easter 1359. 185 The prisoners, Prince of Wales, with King John, his fon Philip, England. and a gallant train of noblemen, fet fail from Bourdeaux April 24., and landed at Plymouth May 5. 186

arrives in

Great preparations had been made at London Triumph. for the triumphant entry of the victorious Prince and his royal captive. Early in the morning, May 24., the lord mayor and aldermen, attended by 1000 citizens, richly attired and nobly mounted, received the Prince and King, with their train, at Southwark, and conducted them into the city. The King, in royal robes, was mounted on a beautiful white steed, and the Prince in a plain dress, rode by his fide on a little black palfrey. procession reached Westminster-hall about noon, where King Edward was feated on a magnificent throne; from whence he descended as soon as the captive monarch came in view, advanced to meet him, and embraced him with all the marks of the most respectful and cordial affection. After these pompous ceremonies were ended, the King of

<sup>184</sup> Rymer, vol. 5. p. 870.

<sup>186</sup> Walfing. p. 172.

<sup>185</sup> Id. t. 6. p.4-10.

A.D. 1357.

France and his fon were lodged in the palace of the Savoy, and entertained with all the kindness and courtefy which the most perfect laws of chivalry required.<sup>187</sup>

King of Scotland released. Fewprinces everenjoyed a more perfect felicity than King Edward did at this time. Happy in his family, adored by his subjects, admired by all the world, he beheld the kings of the two hostile nations of France and Scotland at once captives in his court. The negotiations for the release of the last of these princes were soon after this brought to a conclusion; his ransom was settled at 100,000 marks, to be paid in ten years, during which time a truce was to subsist between the two nations. David Bruce, having given some of his chief nobility as hostages for the payment of his ransom, was set at liberty October 3., and returned into his own kingdom, after having endured a tedious captivity of eleven years. 158

Deplorable flate of France.

Somari.

The deplorable consequences of the battle of Poictiers now appeared in France, and brought that kingdom to the very brink of ruin. After the King was taken prisoner, the reins of government naturally fell into the hands of the Dauphin, a young prince of nineteen, who assumed the title of Lieutenant of the kingdom, and summoned ar assembly of the estates at Paris in the end of the last year. But the members of this assembly, instead of uniting

<sup>187</sup> Froissart, l.1. p.173.
188 Rymer, vol. 6. p. 30—65. Knyghton, p.2617. Froissart, l.1.
C.174. Walling. p.173.

for the relief of their captivated Prince, and bleed-A.D. 1357. ing country, fell into the most violent factions, and broke up in confusion, without granting any fupply. This licentious spirit which appeared in the estates was communicated to the populace of Paris and other cities, feized the peafants in the country, inflamed the mutinous foldiers, and threw all things into confusion. The Dauphin called another affembly of the estates this year in the beginning of November, which behaved in the fame factious manner, and feparated without applying any remedy to the diforders of their country. To increase these disorders, the King of Navarre, who had been thrown into prison by King John about three years before, escaped from his confinement, and flew to Paris, where his party was ftrongeft. He was met at fome distance by his great partisan Stephen Marcel, provost of the merchants, at the head of 10,000 people, and conducted in a kind of triumph into the city. This turbulent Prince, being possessed of an uncommon degree of popular eloquence, a dangerous talent in the hands of a bad man, mounted a fcaffold, and harangued the people in fuch a pathetic strain, on the injustice of his own imprisonment, and the oppressions of the government, that their minds were inflamed almost to madness. They massacred the two marshals Cleremont and Conflans in the Dauphin's presence, who was in danger of fharing the fame fate.

This young Prince behaved with uncommon A.D. 1358. prudence in this perilous fituation. He flattered Prudent

the conduct of

the Dauphin.

A.D. 1358. the provoft of the merchants, and the other heads of the faction, with the hopes of the highest honours; and yielded with seeming cheerfulness to all the demands of the King of Navarre. Amongst other things, he sent orders to the governors of certain cities in Normandy, to which that Prince pretended a right, to furrender them into his hands. But the governors, suspecting that these orders were extorted, refufed to obey; and Charles was fo imprudent, as to leave Paris March 2., at the head of an army of his most zealous partisans, to compel them to obedience. The Dauphin taking advantage of the absence of the King of Navarre, and the good humour of the provost of the merchants, got himfelf declared regent of the kingdom by the parliament; and then retiring privately from Paris, he held an affembly of the estates at Compeigne May 1. The estates, no longer influenced by the factious spirit which reigned in Paris, granted ample supplies both of men and money; which enabled the Dauphin to form the blockade of Paris with a good army.

King of Navarre claims the crown of France.

The King of Navarre, who now pretended a right. to the crown of France, from his mother, Jane, daughter of Lewis Hutin, lay with an army at St. Denis. But he had already loft much of his popularity in that city, by taking a party of English adventurers into his pay, who plundered without distinction the friends and enemies of their present mafter. The provost of the merchants observing this change in the fentiments of the people, and dreading

dreading a total defection, formed a plot to admit A.D. 1368. the King of Navarre with his army, and to proclaim him King of France; and the 1st of August was fixed for the execution of this plot. But some fuspicions arifing, the provost was killed in a tumult, when he was on the point of opening one of the gates; and the people being informed of the plot which he had laid, they dragged his dead body through the streets, loaded the King of Navarre, fo lately their idol, with a thousand curses, and loudly called for the return of the Dauphin, who entered the city foon after, amidst the loudest acclammations. The return of the capital to its obedience had a happy effect on the rest of the kingdom, and the government daily gained new ftrength. 189

While thefe things were doing in France, King AD. 1350. John had been negotiating in England with King Peace re-Edward for his liberty, and a peace between their jected by the Daukingdoms. At length a treaty of peace was con-phin. cluded and figned by both kings, on March 24., at London, and a copy of it fent into France. The Dauphin, who was now reconciled to the King of Navarre, fummoned an affembly of the eftates, and laid the treaty before them for their advice. But the conditions of peace in this treaty requiring the cession of many rich provinces in France to the crown of England, appeared to this affembly too fevere, and they unanimously advised the regent to reject it. 190

<sup>189</sup> Mezeray Hist. Fran. p. 376, 377, &c. Froissart, 1.1. c. 179, 180, 181. 185, 186, 187.

<sup>190</sup> Rymer, t. 6. p. 134. Froissart, l. 1. c. 201.

A.D. 1359. Expedition into

King Edward was greatly incenfed at this refolution of the regent and estates of France, and declared, that since they were for war, they should have it in its most dreadful forms. The truce which would have expired April 9., had a little before been prolonged to Midsummer<sup>191</sup>. But as that term was approaching, he made great preparations for an invasion of France. It was October before every thing could be got ready for this grand expedition; and on the 27th of that month Edward arrived at Calais, attended by his four eldest sons, and the slower of the English nobility, with an army of 100,000 men, in a fleet of 1100 ships. <sup>192</sup>

Besieges Rheims in vain. At the head of this formidable army he marched out of Calais, November 4., and traverling the provinces of Artois and Picardie, he invested the city of Rheims in Champaigne, with a view of being there crowned King of France. But the inhabitants, assisted by some noblemen, with their followers, and animated by their archbishop, defended the place so bravely, that after lying near three months before it in the depth of winter, he found it necessary to raise the siege. 193

A.D. 1360. Paris befieged.

Edward then directed his march towards Paris, plundering the country as he advanced, and having received 100,000 nobles from the Duke of Burgundy to spare his territories, hearrived before the capital of France on the last day of March. During the Easter holidays hostilities were suf-

<sup>191</sup> Rymer, t. 6. p. 121, 122.

<sup>192</sup> Walfing. p.174.

<sup>293</sup> Id. ibid.

pended, and some proposals for peace were made; A.D. 1360. but they came to nothing. Having in vain chal-Ienged the Dauphin, who was in Paris with an army, to come out and fight him, and having alfo made a fruitless attempt upon the suburbs of that city, he marched off towards Britanny, refolving to refresh his army for some time in that province. after the fevere fatigues of a winter campaign, and to return in fummer to beliege Paris in form. 194

The Dauphin and his council being deeply af- Peace with fected with the deplorable desolations of their France at Bretigny. country, which were increased by a fresh defection of the perfidious King of Navarre, and dreading still greater miseries, became earnestly defirous of a peace, which they folicited by commissioners, who followed Edward in his march towards Britanny. These folicitations being seconded by the inftances of the Pope's legate, and the wife and moderate counfels of the excellent Duke of Lancaster, at length made an impression on the King's heart; and a treaty of peace was concluded at Bretigny, near Chartres, May 8., on the following terms. The King of France ceded to the King of England, befides the fuperiority of Guienne and Ponthieu, the earldom of Poictiers, the fief of Thouars, the countries of Poictou, Xaintonge, Agenois, Limoufin, Perigort, Quercy, Bigorre, Gavre, Angoumois, and Rouvergue, with all their cities and caftles, in full fovereignty. In the same ample and full manner were yielded to England, on the other fide of France, the

A.D. 1360. town, caftle, and territory of Calais, with the earldom of Guisnes. The King of France agreed to pay for his ranfom three millions of crowns of gold, at different payments, and to give forty noble hostages for fecurity. The King of France agreed to renounce all alliances and connections with the Scots, and to contract none for the future; and the King of England made the fame concessions with regard to the Flemings. John de Mountfort was to be reftored to all his possesfions in France; and the dispute between him and Charles de Blois, about the duchy of Britanny, was to be referred to commissioners. This famous treaty contained feveral other articles, relating to the time and manner of King John's being fet at liberty, and of his delivering to King Edward the feveral countries, towns, and caftles, and also many regulations for the further security and more effectual execution of the whole. By the twelfth article of this treaty, King Edward renounced all title to the crown and kingdom of France, to the countries of Normandy, Tourain, Anjou, and Main, and to the fovereignty of Britanny and Flanders.

The King of France fet at liberty.

As foon as Edward had finished this great work of peace, he returned to England, and landed at Rye, May 18. 195 In the beginning of July he fent the King of France to Calais, agreeable to an article of the treaty 196. On October 9., he followed to the fame place, to finish all regulations for the execution of the treaty, to receive the first

195 Rymer, vol. 6. p. 196.

195 Id. ib. p. 198.

payment

payment of the King of France's ranfom, and to A.D. 1360. fet that Prince at liberty. About the same time ' the Dauphin and his council arrived at Boulogne; and after some days spent in conferences, all particulars were adjusted, and the treaty of peace ratified by both Kings, at Calais, October 24. 197 The day after, King John was fet at liberty, and Edward accompanied him about a mile out of Calais, where the two Kings took their leave of one another, with the strongest expressions of mutual affection and regard '98. On the last day of October, King Edward landed at Dover, and was every where received by his fubjects with the ftrongest demonstrations of love and admiration. For though the late long war had been very glorious, it had been also exceedingly expenfive, and the people of England were transported with joy at the return of peace.

The joy occasioned by the peace was not a little A.D. 1361. allayed by the breaking out of a peftilence, which carried off great multitudes of the common people, and not a few of the nobility, and amongst others Henry the Good, Duke of Lancaster, one of the most virtuous, amiable, and accomplished noblemen of that age. 199

The execution of the treaty of peace was at- Treaty of tended with great difficulties, chiefly arifing from the attachment of the noblemen in the ceded countries to their ancient and native princes, and their unwillingness to transfer their allegi-

Pestilence.

<sup>197</sup> Rymer, vol. 6. p. 219-229. 199 Dudg. Baron. vol. r. p. 798.

<sup>198</sup> Froiffart, l. 1. c. 213.

A.D. 1361, ance to the King of England 200. But these difficulties were at length in a great measure overcome by the perfect honour and integrity of King John, and the great wisdom and activity of the Lord Chandos, appointed by Edward his lieutenant in all these countries.

A.D. 1362. Edward cedes the conquered countries to the Prince of Wales.

King Edward foon after fell upon an effectual method of reconciling these countries to the English government, by bestowing them on his amiable fon, the Prince of Wales, who was admired and beloved by the very enemies whom he had fubdued. Accordingly the Prince who had lately married his coufin Jane, daughter and fole heirefs of Edmund Plantagenet Earl of Kent, a lady of great merit and beauty, was created Prince of Aquitaine, and had a grant of Guienne, Ponthieu, and all the territories in those parts of France lately yielded to the crown of England, to hold them of that crown by liege homage, and an annual tribute of an ounce of gold. 201

A.D. 1363. of Wales takes poffession of . his territories.

The Prince of Wales having received the invef-The Prince titure of these rich and extensive territories, refolved to fix his refidence at Bourdeaux, and fpent some months in making preparations for his voyage to that capital of his new dominions. He arrived there in February, A.D. 1363., with his beautiful princefs, formerly known by the name of the Fair Maid of Kent; and having eftablished a splendid court, his mild and equitable administration gave universal satisfaction to his new fubjects.

<sup>200</sup> Froissart, l. 1. c. 214.

<sup>261</sup> Rymer, vol. 6. p. 384-390.

Duke of Aniou makes his escape.

By an article of the late treaty of peace, as it A.D. 1363. was finally fettled at Calais, it was agreed that the formal deeds of renunciation of the feveral countries, towns, and other things, given up by the one king to the other, should not be exchanged till after these countries, towns, &c. were actually given up. It was expected, that the doing this might require about twelve or thirteen months; and therefore the 30th November 1361. was appointed for exchanging these mutual renunciations, and finishing this great work of peace 202. But the difficulties which had arisen in delivering fome places to the English, and disputes about others, had ftill prevented the exchange of thefe renunciations, and left this great transaction in fome measure incomplete. The Dukes of Anjou and Berry, two of King John's fons, and the Duke of Orleans, his brother, with the Duke of Bourbon, who remained in England as hoftages for the payment of that Prince's ranfom, pretended, that if they were carried to Calais, and indulged in a little more liberty, they could contribute greatly to remove all difficulties. They were accordingly conveyed to that city, and allowed to go where they pleafed for four days together at any one time. The Duke of Anjou abused this indulgence, and made his escape into France. 203

King John, greatly offended at his fon's difho- King of nourable conduct, refolved to come into England France arrives in to finish every thing relative to the peace, by a England. perfonal treaty with Edward. His ministers en-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>202</sup> Rymer, vol.6. p.231, 232, 239, 262. <sup>20</sup> Id. ibid. p.453—456. Froissart, l.r. c.218.

A.D. 1363.

deavoured to dissuade him from taking this step; but to all their remonstrances he replied, "That "though honour and good faith should forsake "every other part of the world, they ought still to be found in the breasts of princes." He accordingly arrived in England about Christmas A.D. 1363., and was again lodged in the palace of the Savoy.

A.D. 1364. Dies in England.

It doth not appear that this voyage of King John contributed much to remove the difficulties in the execution of the late treaty of peace. For he fell fick of a fever at the Savoy, about the middle of March, and died there April 8., A.D. 1364. 204

John de Mountfort obtains the duchy of Britanny. The famous dispute about the duchy of Britanny, which had subsisted many years, was finally determined by a battle, September 29., near the town of Auray. In this decisive action, one of the competitors, Charles de Blois, lost his life; and his rival, John de Mountfort, son-in-law to the King of England, obtained the long-contested prize. For though this event, so pleasing to Edward, was very mortifying to Charles V., who had lately mounted the throne of France, that wise Prince submitted to the decision of the sword, and granted John de Mountfort the investiture of Britanny, without any further struggle. 205

A.D. 1365. France defolated by adventurers. The kingdom of France had fuffered many calamities during the late war; and it was not immediately relieved from them by the peace of Bre-

<sup>204</sup> Froissart, l. 1. c. 219.

<sup>295</sup> Histoire de Brit. p. 502. Froissart, l. 1. c. 226, 227.

tigny. This was owing to great multitudes of ad- A.D. 1365. venturers of different nations, who had ferved in the armies of France and England. These adventurers, having been long accustomed to live by rapine and plunder, when they were difbanded, were unwilling to return to the arts of civil life; but forming themselves into regular bodies, under bold commanders, they feized upon fome towns and caftles in almost every province in France, and from thence plundered the neighbouring countries. They called themselves the Companions, and the bodies into which they were formed the Companies. These Companies, in the year 1361., defeated a royal army commanded by John de Bourbon Earl of Marche, who was mortally wounded in the action 206. The Pope, who then refided at Avignon, and dreaded a vifit from these lawless plunderers, launched his spiritual thunders against them, and published a croifade for their extirpation. But in vain. They still continued to increase in number, and to become more daring in their enterprifes. In the beginning of the year 1366., they amounted to 50,000 men, and caused the King of France to tremble on his throne. By an article of the late treaty of peace, both kings had engaged to join their forces for the extirpation of these robbers, if it became necessary; and Edward was now called upon to fulfil this engagment. In confequence of this requifition, he made great preparations for an expedition into France against the Companies.

A.D. 1365. But the greatness of these preparations alarmed Charles, who, upon fecond thoughts, was not very fond of feeing the King of England at the head of a great army in the heart of France; and therefore fent him word that his affiftance was not necessary. Edward, greatly offended at this message, desisted from his enterprise. 207

A.D. 1366. Charles endeavours to perfuade them to a croifade.

What Charles could not do by force, he accomplified by policy, and happily delivered his country from those dangerous and destructive Companies. He first endeavoured to persuade them to undertake an expedition into the East for the recovery of the Holy Land; and the Pope feconded these persuasions, by promising them the pardon of all their fins, which were neither few nor trifling, and a good place in paradife after death. But the Companions had too much cunning, and too little religion, to be taken by fuch a bait.

The Companies dethrone Don Pedro King of Caffile.

An expedition was foon after proposed, more agreeable to their views and dispositions. Don Pedro King of Castile had justly merited the name of Cruel, by murdering many of hisnobility, -one of his natural brothers, - and his Queen, Blanche of Bourbon, fifter to the Queen of France. Henry Earl of Trastamare, another of his natural brothers, fled into France, and folicited King Charles to revenge the death of his fifter-in-law by dethroning the tyrant. It immediately occurred to Charles, that this would be a proper employment for the Companies; and he directed the brave Du Guesclin

to enter into a negotiation with them for that pur- A.D. 1366. pose. Their leaders had so high an opinion of the honour and bravery of du Guesclin, that they agreed to evacuate France, and follow him into Castile. Here they met with little or no resistance. The tyrant Don Pedro, being abandoned by all the world, fled with his treasures and family, first to Corunna, and afterwards to Bourdeaux: and Henry de Trastamare was crowned King of Caftile with univerfal applaufe. 208

Though Don Pedro, the dethroned King of The Black Castile, was a faithless and fanguinary tyrant, he Prince undertakes was not destitute of specious and engaging qua- to restore lities. His fituation, and that of his family, which Don Pedro. confifted of three daughters, was affecting; and he paid his court fo artfully to the Prince of Wales, that he unhappily espoused his quarrel, and resolved to attempt his restoration.

This amiable and fortunate prince was the idol Marches of all the military men of his age, who crowded an army into Spain. from all countries to his standard. His brother. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, joined him with a chosen body of men at arms from England. Many Gafcon lords embarked in the expedition. The companies who were still in Castile, being privately invited into his service, deferted by thousands, and made their way to Bourdeaux by different routes. Out of all these the Prince composed an army of 30,000 select troops; with which he fet out on his expedition

208 Froissart, 1. I. c. 230.

A.D. 1366. about Christmas, attended by the kings of Castile and Majorca, his brother the Duke of Lancaster, and a splendid train of English and Gascon noblemen. 209

A.D.1367.
Battle of
Najara.

Don Henry, against whom this expedition was undertaken, was of a character very different from his brother. He was brave, humane, fincere, and generous; and as much beloved by his fubjects as the other had been hated. Having made all poffible preparation for his own defence, he took the field at the head of 40,000 horse and 60,000 foot, and was foon after joined by the brave du Guefclin, with 4000 men at arms. With this powerful army he advanced to meet the Prince of Wales; who having entered Castile in the beginning of March, was approaching by eafy journies. two armies met on Saturday, April 2., near the town of Najara, where a bloody battle was fought; in which the conduct, valour, and fortune of the Prince of Wales prevailed, and the mighty army of Don Henry was entirely routed, many thoufands flain in the action, and a great multitude taken prifoners. The cruel Don Pedro would have put all the prisoners to the fword; but was restrained from this horrid deed by the Prince, who even prevailed upon him, with much difficulty, to publish a general offer of pardon to all his subjects who would return to their obedience. This offer was univerfally accepted, and Don Pedro was reftored to his throne without any further trouble.

It foon appeared that this tyrant was as perfidi- A.D. 1267. ous and ungrateful as he was cruel; for inftead of paying the army which had restored him to his throne, according to his engagements, he de- Don Pedro. tained them all the fummer with vain hopes and trifling excuses. At length the Prince of Wales. perceiving that there was nothing to be expected from a monster devoid of every principle of honour, feeing his men daily perishing by the exceffive heats, to which they had not been accustomed, and finding his own health fensibly impaired by the same cause, left Castile, and brought back the shattered remains of his victorious army to Bourdeaux. 210

Nothing could be more glorious to the Prince A.D. 136%. of Wales than his conduct of this Spanish expedi- Fatal contion; but nothing could be more fatal to him of the than its confequences. It ruined his health, and embittered the few remaining years of his life, by a continual feries of troubles. He had not only exhaufted his treafury, by raifing and paying the army which he had carried into Castile. but he had contracted a prodigious load of debt, and had brought back with him 6000 of those dangerous companions, who, for want of pay, began to live by the plundering of his fubiccts. Yet fuch was the veneration that even these lawless rioters bore to the person of this excellent prince. that at his request they evacuated his territories, and carried their ravages into France. It was not fo eafy to discharge his debts. In order to this,

fequences Spanish expedition.

Å.D.1368.

he was unhappily advised by the Bishop of Rodez, his chancellor of Guienne, to impose, with the consent of the estates, a tax of one livre upon every hearth in his French dominions for five years; which, by a very erroneous computation, it was supposed would produce 1,200,000 livres annually. To this heavy and unusual tax, some provinces submitted without much reluctance; but several great lords in Guienne declaimed against it with great vehemence, and secretly entered into intrigues with the court of France for overturning the English government, which this tax had rendered unpopular. 211

A.D. 1369. Don Pedro put to death.

In the mean time the tyrant Don Pedro, who, by his perfidy and ingratitude, had involved his protector in fo many troubles, met with the just reward of all his crimes: for Henry de Traftamare, having made his escape from the unfortunate battle of Najara, took shelter in the court of his friend and ally the King of Arragon. Here he left his family, and went into France to folicit fuccours, and wait for an opportunity of recovering the crown which he had loft. As foon as he heard of the return of the Prince of Wales into Guienne, he collected a fmall army of about 9000 men, with which he returned into Castile, defeated the tyrant, took him prisoner, and put him to death with his own hand 212. But the destruction of the tyrant put no stop to the

troubles in which the Prince of Wales was in- A.D. 1349 volved by his unfortunate connection with him.

Perfidious conduct of

The Gascon noblemen did not content themfelves with opposing the imposition of the tax on the French. hearths, in the affembly of estates; but after that affembly broke up, they went to Paris, and implored the protection of King Charles as fuperior lord of Guienne, though they well knew that he had given up that title in the late treaty of peace. It doth not belong to historians to determine the stability of national characters, and how far the credit of posterity ought to be affected by the conduct of their ancestors; but this much is certain, that the French on this occasion discovered the most profligate contempt of the most folemn oaths and treaties, and a total difregard to honour andgood faith. For though Charles had given up, in the strongest terms that could be devised, all right to the fovereignty of Guienne, and the other territories ceded to the crown of England by the treaty of Bretigny, he acted as if he had never heard of fuch a treaty, and fummoned the Prince of Wales to appear before the court of Peers at Paris on May 1. The Prince, equally furprifed and provoked at this fummons, replied, that he would come to Paris at the head of 60,000 men: a threat which his declining state of health never permitted him to execute. 213

brewhit refumes the arms of Fran

War wit France.

Charles having taken this bold step, to which King of he was encouraged by the advanced age of the King of England, and the ill health of his heroic

France prepares for war.

A.D. 1369, fon, fecretly prepared for war; and trufting more to policy than force, he fet intrigues on foot in every province of the English dominions in France. These intrigues, favoured by the difcontents of the people occasioned by the late tax, by their affection for their ancient fovereigns, and by the influence of the clergy, were but too fuccefsful. 214

Edward refumes the arms of France.

Edward laid an account of these unexpected events before his parliament, which met June 3., and by their advice refumed the title and arms of King of France 215. This parliament also granted him a high duty on wool, wool-fells, and leather, to enable him to profecute the approaching war with vigour.

War with France.

for war.

About this time the effect of the French intrigues appeared by the revolt of feveral towns in Ponthieu, Guienne, and other provinces, and by a visible tendency in others to imitate their example. War being now declared, both parties took the field, and there followed a variety of skirmishes, captures, and surprises of towns and castles, which it would be tedious to relate minutely 216. Though the King of France had collected a prodigious fum of money, under the pretence of paying his father's ranfom, and had fecretly made great preparations for this war, which he had long meditated, yet for some time his arms made little progress.

<sup>214</sup> Froissart, t. I. c. 246, 247, 248.

<sup>215</sup> Rymer, vol. 6. p. 621.

<sup>216</sup> Froiffart, 1.1. c.250-277.

But the brave John Lord Chandos being killed A.D. 1179. in a skirmish on January 1., A. D. 1370., and the health of the Prince of Wales fo much impaired of the that he could no longer mount on horseback, and French. appear at the head of his troops, the fortune of the war began to change, and the French took feveral places of ftrength, and had others betrayed into their hands 217. Among these last was the city of Limoges, which, at the infligation of its bishop, revolted and admitted a French garrison.

The Prince of Wales, greatly incenfed at the Prince of lofs of this place, which he had fortified at a great Wales expence, fent the inhabitants a fummons to re- Limoges. turn to their duty and expel the French garrison, threatening to raze their city to the ground, after putting them all to the fword, if they did not obey. But the people of Limoges treated this fummons with the most infolent contempt. The Prince collecting a body of troops, and getting into a litter, being unable toride, conducted thein to Limoges, and invested the place. Sensible of its great ftrength, he did not attempt to take it by affault; but having made a breach in the walls, by undermining them, he entered by the breach, and put the whole garrison, and 3000 of the inhabitants, to the fword. It was with fome difficulty he was prevailed upon to spare the life of the Bishop, who had been the cause of all this mischief, by acting a part so contrary to his oaths, and inconfistent with his function. 218

<sup>217</sup> Froissart, l. 1. c. 277, &c. 218 Id. ibid. c. 287. Walfing. p. 185.

Prince of Wales refigns his command.

A.D. 1370. The taking of Limoges is chiefly memorable on this account, that it was the last military exploit of the Prince of Wales; who finding himfelf unable any longer to endure the fatigues of war, retired to Bourdeaux, and refigned the command of the English armies in France to his brother John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, who had lately, together with the Earls of Pembroke and Cambridge, come from England with a reinforcement. 219

A.D.1371. Prince of Wales arrives in England.

The Prince of Wales, finding his strength daily declining, yielded to the advice of his physicians, who encouraged him to hope that his native air would contribute to his recovery. Having held an affembly of all the loyal barons of his French dominions at Bourdeaux, and engaged them to promise obedience to his brother the Duke of Lancaster, he embarked for England in the month of January, A.D. 1371., with his Princess, and only furviving fon Richard, and landed at Southampton. 220

Marriages.

John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, being now a widower, married the Princess Constantia, eldest daughter of the late Don Pedro King of Castile, and his brother Edmund Earl of Cambridge married her fifter the Princess Isabella. The Duke of Lancaster, immediately after his marriage, asfumed the title of King of Castile, and thereby rendered Henry de Trastamare, who wore that crown, a violent and dangerous enemy to England. 221

<sup>219</sup> Froissart, 1.1. c. 287. Walfing. p. 185.

<sup>221</sup> Id. ibid. c.300. \*20 Froiffart, 1.1. c. 293.

English

The military events of this year were very fatal A.D. 1372 to the English interest on the continent. The Duke of Lancaster having returned to England fleet dewith his royal bride, the Earl of Pembroke was feated. appointed commander in chief of the English forces in the principality of Aquitaine, and was fent thither with a fleet of forty flrips, containing a reinforcement of troops and a fupply of money. The Earl defigned to land his forces at Rochelle; but when he approached that place, June 23:, he fell in with a powerful fquadron belonging to Don Henry, King of Castile, who had warmly espoused the cause of France. An engagement immediately commenced, which continued all that day, and was renewed next morning with equal fury. At length towards the evening of the fecond day. victory declared in favour of the Spaniards, whose ships were much larger than those of the English. and provided with cannon, which did great execution. The Earl of Pembroke with feveral other chieftains were made prisoners, and the greatest part of the fleet either taken or funk. 222

By this difafter, Ponthieu, Guienne, and the Loffes of other English provinces in these parts, were left the Engan eafy prey to the conftable du Guesclin, who fell into them with a great army, and took many places of strength without any resistance, and others with very little. The city of Rochelle was betrayed to the French by its mayor, and Thouars capitulated to furrender at Michaelmas, if it was

not relieved before that time by the King of England, or one of his fons, 223

Edward attempts to relieve Thouars.

On hearing of this capitulation, Edward put himself at the head of an army which he had provided for invading France on the fide of Picardie, with which he embarked August 30., and failed to relieve Thouars, and recover his other loffes in those parts. But that wonderful gale of profperity which had fo long favoured this prince in all his undertakings, had now forfaken him. After contending nine weeks at fea with contrary winds, he was obliged to return with his fleet to England; and Thouars furrendered according to the capitulation 224. The miscarriage of this expedition was followed by the lofs of all Ponthieu, except a few places.

A parliament.

Edward after his return held a parliament, which met at Westminster November 3., and continued the additional duty on wool, wool-fells, and leather, for two years longer, besides granting the King a fifteenth 225. Thus the English were at as great expence in lofing, as they had been at in gaining, their French dominions.

A.D. 1373. John de Mountfort abandons Britanny.

age

The conftabledu Guesclin finished the conquest of Ponthieu, and Xaintonge in the beginning of this year 276. As the allies of England had reaped great advantages from her former victories, fome of them were now involved in her misfortunes; particularly John de Mountfort Duke of Britanny.

<sup>223</sup> Froissart, l. I. c. 307-311.

<sup>225</sup> Parliament. Hist. vol. 1. p. 312.

<sup>224</sup> Id. ibid. c.311.

<sup>226</sup> Froiffart, l. 1. c. 312.

This prince being fon-in-law to King Edward, A.D. 1373, and fenfible that he owed his dominions to his protection, was a zealous friend and favourer of the English. Charles King of France, well knowing his inclinations, confifcated the duchy of Britanny, and fent the conftable du Guesclin with an army to take possession of it. That general met with little refiftance, many towns opening their gates at the first summons; and the Duke, afraid of being betrayed into the hands of the French, retired into England, leaving the brave Sir Robert Knolles his lieutenant in Britanny. 227

Edward, refolving to make another great effort Duke of for the recovery and prefervation of his French Lancaster's dominions, appointed his fon John of Gaunt Duke tion into of Lancaster, his lieutenant in the kingdom of France. France and principality of Aquitaine, and fent him with an army to Calais. The Duke marched from Calais, July 20., at the head of 30,000 men; and having ravaged the provinces of Artois and Picardie, he purfued his route through Champagne, Burgundy, Beaujolois, Farez, Auverge, into Guienne, and arrived at Bourdeaux about Christmas, with the shattered remains of his army. without having belieged one town or fought one battle, 228

Conferences for a truce or peace between the A.D. 1374. kings of France and England had been lately opened at Bruges, under the mediation of the

<sup>227</sup> Froiffart, 1. 1. c. 314.

<sup>229</sup> Walfing. p. 187. Froiffart, l. 1. c. 316, 317.

A.D. 1374. Pope. After fome time had been spent in these conferences, a truce was concluded, February 11., to continue to Easter; and this truce was afterwards prolonged to May 1., in the following year 229. This truce was but ill observed by the Duke of Anjou, who had long before violated his parole of honour to King Edward, and now reduced the greatest part of Guienne before the expiration of the truce. Thus Edward had the mortification to fee himfelf deprived of all his conquests in France (except Calais), the fruits of the glorious victories of Crecy and Poictiers, rather by the perfidy than the valour of his enemies, and his own imprudent confidence in their honour and good faith.

A.D. 1375.

The conferences for a peace still continued at Bruges, and the truce, by feveral prolongations, was extended to April 1., 1377 230. The duchy of Britanny was not comprehended in the first truces; and John de Mountfort having returned from England with some troops, recovered a confiderable part of his dominions. But a stop was put to this career of fuccess, by his being included in the last truce, to which he submitted. 231

A.D.1376. Parliament.

Though a long truce was now concluded, and negotiations for a peace were carried on, there was little prospect of their success; and it was expected that the war would be renewed as foon as the truce expired. To be prepared for this event, Edward

<sup>229</sup> Rymer, vol. 7. p. 51-57.

<sup>230</sup> Rymer, vol. 7. p. 68-92. 23' D'Angentré Hist. de Brit. 1.8. c. 20.

fummoned a parliament to meet at Westminster A.D. 1376. April 28., and demanded a fupply for carrying on the war with France. The parliament continued the high duty on wool, wool-fells, and leather, for three years longer, and promifed a further aid if it should be found necessary 232. But it soon appeared that this affembly was far from being pleafed with the late management of public affairs, and the conduct of those who now possessed the highest place in the King's favour. In confequence of their complaints, the Lord Latimer, and feveral other persons of inferior note, were imprisoned for embezzling the public treasure, and other misdemeanors. Though this was an age of chivalry, in which the adoration of the fair fex was carried to the most extravagant height. yet a lady fell under the censures of this parliament. This was the famous Alice Perrers, for whom Edward, after the death of his excellent Queen Philippa, had contracted an affection. This lady being of a covetous disposition, very much abused the fondness of her royal lover, and is faid to have carried her effrontery fo far as to fit on the bench, and dictate to the judges. At the request of the commons, she was banished from court, but foon after recalled. 233

While this parliament was fitting, the nation Death of fuftained an irreparable loss by the death of Ed- the Prince ward Prince of Wales, better known to posterity

of Wales.

<sup>232</sup> Parliament. Hift. vol. 1. p. 319.

<sup>233</sup> Walfing. p. 189. Barnes, p. 880-882.

the Prince .

A.D. 1276. by the name of the Black Prince. This excellent prince, after languishing several years under a lingering disease, which he had contracted in Spain, was in the last stage of it seized with a fever, of which he died in the palace of Westminster June 8., in the 46th year of his age. Though this event had been long expected, and though all the fruits of his glorious victories were already loft and gone, there never was a more fincere and univerfal mourning than on this occasion. The character of this prince was a happy mixture of great and good qualities, which formed the illuftrious hero and the amiable man, and rendered him at once the object of univerfal love and admiration. Hisdeath is thought to have shortened the days of his royal father, and broke the heart of that renowned warrior John de Grielly, Captal de Buche, who refused all nourishment, and was impatient to follow his beloved mafter to the grave. The parliament, though in no very good humour, discovered the deepest concern for his death, and the highest veneration for his memory, by attending his remains to the cathedral of Canterbury, where he was buried, and by petitioning the King to introduce his only furviving fon Richard of Bourdeaux, then a youth of ten years and five months old, into their affembly, that they might have the pleasure of beholding this only reprefentative of their beloved prince, and of paying their duty to him as heir-apparent to the crown. At the request of both houses, II

Richard

Richard was created Prince of Wales, and invefted A.D. 1276. with all his father's honours and possessions. 234

burw

As the truce with France was now drawing A.D. 1377. towards an end, and as all endeavours to bring Parliaabout a peace had proved abortive, nothing was expected but the renewal of the war. To provide for this event, a parliament met on January 27., at Westminster, which was opened by Richard Prince of Wales, by commission from the King. then indisposed. The commons, after some deliberation, and conferring with a committee of the lords, granted the King a poll-tax of fourpence from every person in the kingdom above fourteen years of age, except beggars 235. There feems to have been a perfect harmony between the King and this his last parliament, which petitioned him to release the Lord Latimer, Alice Perrers, and others, from the censures inflicted upon them by the late parliament, and to restore them to their former state. 236

Edward finding, from the declining state of his Death health, that his death was fast approaching, was of Edearnestly desirous of making peace with France, that he might not leave his infant successor involved in a war with fo powerful an enemy. But the fame circumstances rendered the French fo high in their demands, that, though commissioners had been appointed to treat of peace, nothing could be concluded before King Edward's death,

<sup>234</sup> Froissart, l.1. c.224, 225. Walling. p. 190.

Parliament. Hist. vol. 1. p. 326. 236 Id. ibid. p.328.

A.D. 1377.

which happened at his palace of Shene, June 1., in the fixty-fifth year of his age, and the fifty-first of his reign. 237

Character of Edward.

Edward III. was in his person well shaped, tall, strong, and active; his countenance was comely, his air majestic, and his address engaging. He much excelled and greatly delighted in the manly exercifes of those times, particularly tournaments, which were often celebrated at his court with great magnificence. His genius, both for learning, politics, and war, was far above the common rate. He understood several languages, and was well verfed in the learning of his time, as well as a munificent patron of learning and learned men. He discovered great prudence in the conduct of his affairs, the management of his parliaments, and the many wife laws which were made in his reign for the advancement of arts and commerce; though he was shamefully outwitted by Charles King of France, and his brothers, rather through their total want of faith and honour, than his want of policy. His almost constant success in war, while he appeared at the head of his armies, is a fufficient proof of his military talents 238. If we examine his wars with France and Scotland by the strict rules of morality, they will not appear very justifiable; and if we judge of them by their final issue, they were not very profitable. For though he inflicted infinite mischiefs on both these king-

<sup>237</sup> Rymer, vol. 7. p. 151.

<sup>238</sup> Anonimi Hift. Ed.III. p.451. Walfing. p.192, 193.

doms, and raised the martial same of England to A.D. 1377. the highest pitch, it was at a prodigious expence of blood and treasure; and he made no lasting conquests, except Calais and Berwick. The ambition of this prince, which hath gained him the greatest same, was in reality the most exceptionable part of his character, which was adorned with many shining virtues. He was a rare example of human felicity, having for more than forty years enjoyed a very uncommon degree of happiness in his family, and of success in all his undertakings.

Edward's only queen was Philippa of Hainault; His iffue. with whom he lived in the most perfect conjugal harmony above two and forty years, and by whom he had seven sons and five daughters, viz.

1. Edward of Woodstock, commonly called the Black Prince, from the colour of his armour, the darling of his royal parents, was born at Woodstock June 15., A.D. 1330. 239; married to his cousin Jane, the Fair Maid of Kent, in 1361.; by whom he left an only son, named Richard, who succeeded his grandfather in the throne. 240

2. William of Halfield, born 1336.; died young. 241

3. Lionel of Antwerp, Duke of Clarence, born November 29., 1338.242; was married, first, to Eli-

<sup>239</sup> Walfingham, p. 130.

<sup>240</sup> Sandford's Geneal. Hist. p.215, &c.

<sup>241</sup> Ypod. Neuft. f. 512. 242 Sandford, p. 222.

A.D. 1377. fabeth de Burgh, heires of Ulster; by whom he left one daughter, Philippa, married to Edmund Mortimer, Earl of Marche. For his fecond wife, the Duke of Clarence married Violante, daughter of the Duke of Milan; by whom he had no children. He died in Italy, in 1368.243

> 4. John of Gaunt, born in 1340.; was married. first, in 1359., to Blanche, one of the daughters and coheiresses of Henry the Good, Duke of Lancafter (after whose death he was created Duke of Lancaster); by whom he left a son, named Henry, fuccessively Earl of Derby, Duke of Hereford and Lancaster, and King of England, by the name of Henry IV. 244 For his fecond wife, John of Gaunt married Constantia, eldest daughter of Don Pedro King of Castile; in whose right he affumed that title; and by whom he had a daughter, afterwards Queen of Castile. For his third wife he married Catharine Swinford; by whom he had feveral children.

> 5. Edmund of Langley, born in 1341., created Earl of Cambridge in 1362., and Duke of York in 1384.; married Isabella, youngest daughter of Don Pedro King of Caftile; by whom he had Edward, his eldest fon, who died without iffue; and Richard Earl of Cambridge; who, marrying his cousin Anne Mortimer, heiress of the house of Clarence, had Richard Duke of York, who was father of Edward IV., King of England. 245

<sup>243</sup> Sandford, p. 219. 222. 225. 244 Walfing. p. 148. 245 Ypod. Neuft. f. 524. Sandford, p. 357, 358. 360. 365.

6. William of Windfor, who died in his in- A.D. 1377. fancy. 246

7. Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester,

and Constable of England, 247

The daughters of King Edward and his Queen Philippa were, 1. Isabel, married in 1365, to Enguerrand de Coucy, created Duke of Bedford; 2. Joan, contracted to Don Pedro King of Caftile, but died of the plague at Bourdeaux, in 1349., before marriage 248; 3. Blanche, who died in her infancy; 4. Mary, Duchess of Britanny; 5. Margaret, Countess of Pembroke, who died without iffue.

DAVID BRUCE, King of Scotland, who was History of taken prisoner at the battle of Durham, Octo-Scotland. ber 17., A.D. 1346., continued in captivity no less than eleven years, though various negotiations were fet on foot for procuring his deliverance 249. He was permitted to pay a visit to his dominions, A.D. 1351., upon giving hostages, and making oath to return into cuftody when required 250. This relaxation in his confinement (which had been very ftrict) was probably granted to promote the fuccess of a private agreement which he had made with the King of England, by procuring the confent of his subjects to that agreement. The nature of this fecret treaty between the two kings is not known; but it is believed to

<sup>246</sup> Sandford, p. 178. 247 Id. p. 227.

<sup>248</sup> Rymer, vol. 5. p. 422. 425, 426, 427, 428, &c. 249 Rymeri Fæd. t.5. p.618. 686. 699, 700.

<sup>250</sup> Id. ibid. p. 711. 722. 724. 727.

292

A.D. 1351, have been unfavourable to the independency of Scotland; and David having failed in his attempts to procure its confirmation, returned into confinement, A.D. 1352.251 After long conferences, a treaty for the liberation of David, and a truce of nine years, was concluded at Newcaftle, 13th July A.D. 1354., ratified by the commissioners of Scotland, 12th November, and by the King of England and the Prince of Wales 5th December 252. But the effect of this treaty was prevented by the intrigues of the King of France; who, by fending a body of foldiers, and a fum of money into Scotland, prevailed upon the Scots to continue the war; and they had the good fortune to defeat Sir Thomas Gray, keeper of Norham caftle, in October, and to take the town of Berwick in November, A.D. 1355.253 But they did not long enjoy this conquest; for Edward having invested the town with a great army, it was furrendered by capitulation 13th January A.D. 1356.254

A.D. 1356. Expedition of Edward III. into Scotland.

Edward, having recovered Berwick, and obtained a formal furrender of the crown and kingdom of Scotland from his wretched tool Edward Baliol (January 20.), marched at the head of a great army into Lothian, attended by a fleet of victuallers in the Forth. But the Scots having removed all their cattle and provisions, and the

<sup>251</sup> Rymeri Foed. t.5. p. 737. 746. Fordun, l. 14. c. 15.

<sup>252</sup> Rymeri Fæd. t.5. p. 793. 812. 253 Fordun, 1.14. c.9, 10.

<sup>254</sup> Fordun, 1.14. c.12. Rymer. Fæd. t.5. p. 828.

English fleet having been dispersed by a storm, A.D. 1356. he found it impossible to proceed any further than to Edinburgh. His troops were haraffed in their retreat by flying parties of the Scots, which provoked him to deftroy the country with fire and fword, not sparing the most magnificent churches255. This expedition was long remembered in Scotland by the name of The burnt Candlemas.

Edward, convinced of the difficulty of fubduing King of Scotland, began to think feriously of making peace Scots ranwith that country, and of procuring as great a ranfom as he could for its king, who was still his prisoner. With this view he appointed William de Bohun Earl of Northampton, and others, his commissioners, to treat with the prelates, nobles, and people, of Scotland, about the redemption of David Bruce, and a perpetual peace between the two kingdoms 256. The parliament of Scotland, (17th January, A.D. 1357.) named four commiffioners, two bishops and two barons, to treat with those of England 257. That the conferences might not be interrupted by hostilities, a truce for fix months was concluded 8th May 258. The commissioners of both kingdoms met at Berwick, to which place the captive King was alfo conducted 250. The chief difficulty in this negotiation was, to fettle the ranfom to be paid by the Scots for the redemption of their King. The English demanded 100,000 marks, an exor-

<sup>255</sup> Fordun, 1.14. c.13.

<sup>257</sup> Id. ibid. p. 831.

<sup>259</sup> Id. ibid. p. 31.

<sup>255</sup> Rymeri Fæd. t.5. p.847. 258 Id. ibid. t. 6. p. 15.

A.D. 1357. bitant fum in those times, containing as much filver as 200,000l. of our money, and more difficult to raife than a million would be at present. As no abatement of this demand could be obtained, the commissioners, and also the parliament of Scotland, engaged to pay it in ten years by equal payments of 10,000 marks each year; and to give twenty young men of quality hoftages, for fecurity 260. By one article it was provided, that the truce between the two kingdoms should continue till the ranfom was paid. In confequence of this treaty the King of Scots was fet at liberty, in October A. D. 1367.

Treaties.

The fatal expedition into England, A.D. 1346., which had involved the King and people of Scotland in fo many calamities, had been undertaken at the infligation of France; and therefore the Scots very properly applied to France to affift them in paying the heavy ranfom of their king. This application was at first eluded by excuses; but the French being still at war with England, and standing in need of the aid of their ancient allies, a treaty was concluded, April A.D. 1360., in which the French engaged to pay the Scots 50,000 marks, and the Scots engaged to renew the war with England 261. But this treaty was never executed: for by an article of the famous treaty of peace between the French and English at Bretigny, concluded only about a month after, the King of France renounced every alli-

<sup>260</sup> Rymer. Fæd. t.6. p.46-52.

<sup>261</sup> Annals of Scotland, vol. 2. p. 246, 247, 248.

ance with Scotland, and engaged, for himfelf A.D.1360. and his fuccesfors, never to make any newalliance with that kingdom 262. In this manner do great kings fometimes trifle with their engagements.

After Scotland had been long involved in the Pestilence. calamities of war, it was visited by a destructive pestilence, A.D. 1361., which raged a whole year, and is faid to have carried off about one-third of the inhabitants 263. Johanna Queen of Scotland, fifter of Edward III., died in England, A. D. 1362. 264 nominguit 212 a strong and alidar

King David Bruce paid frequent visits to Eng- Intrigues land after he recovered his liberty, and was en- to defeat gaged in certain fecret intrigues with that court, fion of to defeat the fuccession of his nephew Robert the Robert the Stewart, who had been regent of the kingdom during his captivity. After his return from one of these visits, A.D. 1363., he made a proposal to his parliament at Scone, that if he died without iffue, they should chuse Lionel Duke of Clarence, the fecond fon of Edward III., to be their king. This propofal was unanimously rejected with fcorn and indignation by the parliament, who declared that they would never permit an Englishman to reign over them; but would support the settlement of the crown, which had been made by parliament on the Stewart and his family 265. David was not deterred by this resolute answer, or even by the

the fucces-Stewart.

<sup>262</sup> Rymeri Fæd. t. 6. p. 178-196.

<sup>263</sup> Fordun. l. 14. c. 24, 25.

<sup>264</sup> Walfing. p. 179.

<sup>265</sup> Fordun, 1.14. c.25.

A.D. 1363. civil commotions which his proposal had occasioned, from pursuing his pernicious schemes: for on his return to England, he made an agreement with Edward, that he, or the King of England for the time being, should succeed to the crown of Scotland, on the death of David without iffue; and a plan was formed for regulating the government when that event took place 266. But it was foon found, that thefe dark intrigues and private conventions could have no effect, while the Scots were unanimously determined to defend their independency; and therefore they were kept fecret.

Marriage and death of David II.

David Bruce, being now a widower, fell in love with, and married Margaret Logie, a gentlewoman of fingular beauty. For fome time the influence of this lady over her amorous hufband was very great; but it was not of long duration; and they were divorced in February, A.D. 1370.267 David did not long furvive this event. He died in the castle of Edinburgh, 22d February A.D. 1371., in the forty-feventh year of his age, and forty-fecond of his reign. 268

Character.

David II., though not defective in personal courage, was a weak, capricious, and unfortunate prince, having fpent about one half of his reign in exile or in captivity. The veneration of the Scots for the memory of their illustrious deliverer, Robert

267 Fordun, 1.14. c. 28. 34.

269 Id. ibid.

Bruce,

<sup>266</sup> Rymeri Fæd. t.6. p. 426, 427. Annals of Scotland, vol. 2. p. 253, &c.

Bruce, kept them fleady in their attachment to his A.D 1371. only fon, in spite of all his failings. He was succeeded by his nephew Robert the Stewart, the first of that family who wore a crown. whell confer the direction of his three

John of Grant Duke of Lancafter, Edmund on Landov Karloff aminidge offerwards Duke of North and Thomas of Woodfinels But of Buck

## ingham, atlerwands Doker of Gloncefler, The SECTION V.

The civil and military history of Britain, from the accession of Richard II., June 21. A.D. 1377., to the accession of Henry IV., September 30. A.D. 1399. for which no preparation was

ICHARD II. was in the 11th year of his A.D.1377. age, when he fucceeded his grandfather Ed- Accession ward III. on the throne of England. His tender ard II. years, the exquisite beauty of his person, and the remembrance of his beloved father the Black Prince, greatly endeared him to his fubjects, who expressed the highest satisfaction at his accession. When King Edward lay at the point of death, the citizens of London fent a folemn deputation to the Prince, then at Kingston-upon-Thames, to profess their attachment to his interest, and invite him to take up his refidence in their city; with which invitation he complied. He was crowned at Westminster, July 16., with great magnificence, and every possible expression of univerfal joy. 1 miles and antibage per le library lecutifie the war with vigour, a parhament was

Unfavourable state of England.

But notwithstanding all these fair appearances, the affairs of England were not in a very happy fituation at this time. The young King being incapable of holding the reins of government, was wholly under the direction of his three uncles, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, Edmund of Langley Earl of Cambridge, afterwards Duke of York, and Thomas of Woodstock, Earl of Buckingham, afterwards Duke of Gloucester. The Duke of Lancaster, who bore the chief swav, was proud, paffionate, and unpopular, and very unfit for the difficult part he had to act. The nation was involved in an unfortunate war with France, for which no preparation was made, and was also on ill terms with Spain and Scotland; and the commons were greatly discontented at the continual demands which had been lately made upon them for the support of the French war. The ill effects of these unfavourable circumstances foon appeared.

War with France.

The truce with France having expired May 1., the war was renewed; and the French had fent armies into Guienne, Britanny, and the marches of Calais, where they had taken two forts before the late King's death. In August, a body of French plundered the isle of Wight, burnt the town of Hastings, and made attempts upon Winchelsey and Southampton, though without success.

Parliament. To provide for repelling these insults, and profecuting the war with vigour, a parliament was

fummoned

<sup>2</sup> Walfing. p. 198, 199. Froissart, l. 1. c. 347.

fummoned to meet at Westminster, October 13. A.D. 1377. The house of commons, after consulting with a committee of lords, granted two fifteenths from the counties, and two tenths from the cities and boroughs, to be paid into the hands of John Philpot, and W. Walworth, merchants in London, and appropriated to the expences of the war, together with the fubfidy on wool. Through the influence of the King's uncles in this parliament, the famous Alice Perrers was fentenced to banishment, and her estates confiscated. No regent nor regency was appointed; but by the affent of the King and lords to a petition of the commons, a council of nine persons was chosen, to advise and affift the King in the administration of government for one year, and a like council ordained to be chosen every year, by parliament, during the King's minority<sup>3</sup>. This method was probably taken out of jealoufy of the Duke of Lancaster, who had the best claim to the regency, if a regent had been appointed.

The war between England and France was not A.D. 1378. carried on with much vigour on either fide, nor Progress of did it produce many events worthy of the attention of posterity. One Mercer, a Scotchman, infested the north-east coasts of England with a small fleet, and feized fome ships in the port of Scarborough; but John Philpot of London fitted out fome ships at his own expence, with which he engaged Mercer, defeated, and took him prisoner.4

Parliament. Hift. vol. 1. p. 335-344. 4 Walfing. p.211.

A.D. 1378. Duke of Lancaster's expedition into France.

The Duke of Lancaster, though not directly regent, had an almost unbounded influence over the council of administration; and prevailed with them to give him the disposal of the money arising from the late parliamentary grants, promising not only to protect the kingdom from all its enemies, but also to perform some notable exploit for its honour and advantage. To perform this promise, he raised an army and equipped a fleet for invading France. Before the grand fleet was ready to fail, he fent the Earls of Arundel and Salifbury, with a few ships and fome troops, to take possession of Cherburg, which was ceded to England by the King of Navarre. The two Earls had an engagement on their passage with a Spanish fleet, in which they fustained some loss, though they afterwards executed their commission. About the end of July the Duke failed with a gallant fleet and army; and, landing in Britanny, invested St. Malo. The conflable Du Guesclin hastened with an army to the relief of the place; and the Duke, finding it would be impossible to take the town in the presence of the enemy, raifed the fiege, and returned home, without having performed any thing worthy of his mighty promifes and great expences. 5

War with Scotland.

A party of about eighty Scots, commanded by Sir Alexander Ramfay, furprifed the castle of Berwick on November 25.; but it was foon after recovered by the Earl of Northumberland, and all the Scots, except their leader, put to the fword.

<sup>5</sup> Walfing. p.200. 210. 213. Froisfart, l.1. c.329.

After this the Earl marched into Scotland; A.D. 1378. but a part of his army being defeated near Melrose, he dismissed the rest, and put an end to the campaign.

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Shrisany

A parliament met at Gloucester, October 20., Parliato which it was represented, that the King was at a great expence in maintaining the garrifons of Calais, Cherburg, Breft, Bourdeaux, and Bayonne, and in defending the kingdom from its numerous enemies; and a fupply was demanded for defraving these expences. The house of commons discovered an extreme unwillingues to comply with this demand; alleging, that there must be a great part of the money granted by the last parliament still in the treafury; that the King's ordinary revenues were fufficient, with good management, for answering all these purposes; and that the people of England had nothing to do with the great charge of 46,000l. for maintaining the garrifons in France. But at length, by the earnest and repeated entreaties of the lords, the commons were prevailed upon to continue the high duty on wool, woolfells, and leather, and even to grant an additional duty of one mark on every fack of wool, and every two hundred and forty woolfells, and two marks on every last of leather, befides 6d. in the pound on all merchandise exported and imported.

dunon's

<sup>6</sup> Froissart, t. 2. c.7-10. Walfing. p. 219.

Carte, vol. 2. p. 547. ex Rot. Parliament. Walfing. p. 215. Parliament. Hift. vol. r. p. 348-355.

A.D. 1379.

Revolution in
Britanny.

The late unfuccefsful expedition of the Duke of Lancaster into Britanny, was followed by the loss of all that duchy, except Brest, which was put into the hands of the English by John de Mountfort Duke of Britanny, for an estate in England, where he refided with very little hopes of ever being restored to his dominions s. The conquest of this country appeared so complete to Charles V. King of France, that by a folemn fentence he annexed the duchy of Britanny to the kingdom of France for ever 9. But so uncertain are the principles of human policy, that this fentence, calculated to extinguish the last hopes of John de Mountfort, was the means of restoring him to the possession of his country in a very little time. For though the people of Britanny difliked their Duke for his inviolable attachment to England, and on that account had affifted the French in expelling him, there was nothing in the world they dreaded fo much as the subjection of their country to the crown of France. In order to avoid this, they fent repeated invitations to Mounfort to return into Britanny, promising to receive him as their fovereign, and to support him with the utmost zeal and loyalty. Being at length convinced of their fincerity, he failed from Southampton; and landing near St. Malo, August 3., with a few troops, he was every where received with the loudest acclamations of joy, and got poffession of the chief places of his dominions. 10

Walfing. p. 225. Froissart, t. 2. ch. 44.

<sup>8</sup> Rymer, vol.7. p.190—195. 9 D'Argentré Hist. Brit. l.9. c.3.

Though the events of the war with France, A.D. 1380. Castile, and Scotland, were not very memorable, the expences of it, and of the foreign garrisons, were very great, and occasioned frequent applications to parliament. One was fummoned to meet at Westminster January 14., A.D. 1380., which, after appointing commissioners to examine into every branch of the administration, granted one fifteenth and a half from the counties, and one tenth and a half from the cities and boroughs; and continued the high duties on wool, wool-fells, and leather, for another year after Michaelmas next, when they were to have expired". Having thus provided for the public expences, they requested that there might be no meeting of parliament for one year after Michaelmas next.

Britanny.

Though the people of Britanny had received Expeditheir Duke with great cordiality, he foon found tion into that it would be impossible for him to contend with the superior power of France without affiftance from England, which he folicited with much earnestness. A great army was raised and fent to his relief, under the command of the King's uncle, Thomas Earl of Buckingham; which, marching from Calais in the end of July, passed through Picardie, Champagne, and other provinces of France, plundering the country, without meeting with any opposition. 12

As this army approached the confines of Brit- Death of anny, they received the news of the death of the Charles V.

14 Froissart, 1.2. c.50-55.

Parliament. Hift. vol. 1. p. 355 - 357.

A.D.1380. King of France, Charles V., who expired on September 16., and was fucceeded by his fon Charles VI., a youth about twelve years of age. 13

Change in the Duke of Britanny.

This event produced a great change in the designs of the Duke of Britanny. This prince, observing that the aversion of his subjects to the English was not in the least abated, and that several of his towns were refolved to fhut their gates against them, began to think of making his peace with France, and with great fecrecy fent commiffioners to Paris to propose an accommodation. But as he had invited the English army to his affiftance, he found it necessary to receive them with some degree of civility; and fent fix of his chief nobility to compliment the Earl of Buckingham on his arrival in Britanny, and to propose an interview with their Duke. These princes accordingly met at Meziere, near Rennes; where it was agreed, that the English army should undertake the fiege of Nantes, in which the Duke promifed to join them with his forces, in a few weeks. The English, in consequence of this agreement, invested Nantes, and continued the siege about two months; when, finding that the Duke had failed in his engagement to join them, through the aversion of his subjects to the English interest, they raised the siege, and retired to Vannes into winter-quarters. 14

War with Scotland.

The Scots invaded and plundered Cumberland and Westmoreland in summer, and carried off

<sup>12</sup> Froisfart, 1.2. c. 56. 60.

much booty; particularly feveral thousands of A.D. 1280a cattle of different kinds. When the Earl of Northumberland was raifing an army to retaliate this injury, he was restrained by orders from court. These orders were probably procured by the influence of the Duke of Lancaster, who designed this employment for himfelf. Accordingly he made an expedition into Scotland, where he gathered no laurels; but having concluded a truce at Berwick, November 1., he returned to England. 15

Though the last parliament had requested that Parliathere might not be another till a year after, the ment. exigencies of the flate requiring it, one was called to meet at Northampton, November 5., and a fresh supply demanded, for the pay of the army under the Earl of Buckingham in Britanny, and for other purposes. The parliament, after long deliberation, and feveral conferences between the two houses, imposed a poll-tax of three groats on every person in the kingdom above fifteen years of age, except mere beggars, the richer to affift the poorer 16: a tax which was productive of very fatal confequences.

The negotiations of the Duke of Britanny at A.D. 1281. the court of France were now perfected; and a English peace was concluded January 15., by which the army returns from Duke engaged to renounce his alliance with Eng. Britanny. land, to fend home the English army now in his

<sup>15</sup> Walfing. p. 240. 244. Rymer, vol. 7. p. 276-279.

<sup>16</sup> Parliament, Hift. vol. 1. p. 358-363.

A.D. 1381, country, and to hold his duchy of the crown of France. Nothing could equal the furprise of the Earl of Buckingham when he heard of this treaty. But as there was no remedy, he embarked his army and returned to England, having endured great fatigues, and expended great fums of money. 17

State of the common people.

The poll-tax imposed by the last parliament excited the most violent commotions in England. That numerous and ufeful class of men who were in those times called villains, and were little better than the flaves and property of their lordly masters, had of late years borne the yoke with great impatience. This yoke was rendered more galling by the frequent taxes lately imposed by parliament, particularly by the poll-tax which fell very heavy on the poorer fort of people, and was made more grievous by the feverity with which it was collected. In a word, the minds of the common people all over England were fo exafperated by the various oppressions under which they laboured, that they were ready to engage in any desperate attempt. 18

Infurrection of the common people.

A fmall fpark fet fire to this train, and excited a prodigious flame. A quarrel arifing between one of the poll-tax gatherers and a tyler in Deptford named Walter, the tyler beat out the brains of the tax-gatherer with his hammer 19. His neighbours applauded the action, and promifed to protect him from punishment. In a little time

Froissart, 1.2. c. 65. 17 Walfing. p. 242, 243. 18 Knyghton, col. 2633. 19 Id. ibid.

feveral hundreds were gathered together, who A.D. 1381. were every moment alarmed and enraged by flying reports of the dreadful vengeance which the government threatened to take for the death of the tax-gatherer. The infurgents fent meffengers into the neighbouring counties on both fides of the Thames, commanding the common people to join with them in shaking off the yoke of fervitude, and taking vengeance on their oppreffors. These commands were too well obeyed. The commons every where abandoned their employments, and flew to arms. From all parts they directed their march toward London, burning the houses, and plundering the estates of the nobility and gentry in their route. The rage of this dangerous multitude was much inflamed by the declamations of one John Ball, a feditious preacher, whom they had released out of Maidstone gaol. This turbulent monk, who had been long remarkable for courting low popularity, held forth with great vehemence to the rioters on the natural equality of mankind, which he exhorted them to reftore, by murdering all the nobility, gentry, lawyers, and fuperior clergy, and dividing the world amongst themselves 20. The infurgents of Kent, Effex, and the neighbouring counties, came to a general rendezvous on Blackheath, Wednesday June 12., when they are said to have amounted to 100,000 men, under their two leaders Wat Tyler and Jack Straw.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Walfing. p. 275. Froiffart, l. 2. c. 72. Knyghton, col. 2633, 2634.

A.D. 1381.

Progress
of the infurrection.

The progress of this infurrection was so rapid, and the consternation it occasioned so great, that no measures were taken by the government for its suppression. The King's three uncles, who had the chief direction of affairs, were all absent; the Duke of Lancaster in Scotland, negotiating a truce with that kingdom; the Earl of Cambridge gone with some troops to the affistance of the King of Portugal, against the King of Castile; and the Earl of Buckingham at his estate in Wales 1. The young King, in this extremity, took shelter with his mother and a few of his counsellors, in the tower of London.

The infurgents fend a message to the King.

Among other acts of violence which the infurgents committed in their way to London, they feized feveral knights and gentlemen, whom they obliged to accompany them: and from Blackheath they fent one of these knights to the tower of London, with a message to the King, inviting him to come and speak with them concerning the government of the kingdom, which they said was ill conducted by his uncles, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and others. <sup>22</sup>

The King's answer. Aftersome time spent in deliberation, the King returned this answer by their own messenger: "That if they would approach the river Thames, "he would speak with them next morning, being "Thursday June 13." Agreeable to this message, the King went on board his barge early in the morning, with the Earls of Salisbury, Warwick,

and some other noblemen, and steered towards A.D. 1381. Redriff, where about 10,000 of the infurgents attended on the banks. As foon as they beheld the royal barge approaching, they fet up fuch horrible cries (favs Froiffart), as if all the devils in hell had been in their company. The noblemen who were with the King, diffuaded him from expofing his person to the will of such an enraged rabble; upon which he put back, and returned to the tower. 23

Lendon.

It is impossible to describe the fury of the rioters The infuron this disappointment. As foon as it was communicated to the main body on Blackheath, they immediately fet out for London, destroying every thing in their way. In Southwark they did much mischief, burning houses, and beheading all gentlemen who were fo unhappy as to fall into their hands. The gate on London bridge, which had been flut, being opened by the mob within, they rushed in, and spread over all the city, filling every place with consternation. They burnt the noble palace of the Savoye, with all its rich furniture, belonging to the Duke of Lancaster, the chief object of their malice. The temple, with all its valuable records, shared the same fate. They cut off the heads of all the Flemings and Lombards they could find; and would have done much more mischief, if the greatest part of them had not been overcome with liquor, and funk into repose. 24

<sup>23</sup> Froissart, t. 2. c. 76.

<sup>24</sup> Id. ibid. Walfing. p. 249. Knyghton, col. 2635.

A.D. 1381. Council held in the tower.

In the night which fucceeded this fatal day, a council was held in the tower: in which the intrepid W. Walworth, Lord Mayor of London, proposed to rush out upon the rioters, now buried in fleep and wine, and put them to the fword. But this measure appearing too dangerous to the other counfellors, it was refolved, that the King should endeavour to prevail upon them to separate, and return home, by fair words, and by granting all their demands. 25

The infurgents murder feveral

Next morning, June 14., the King fent a meffage to the infurgents, who appeared in great great men. multitudes on Tower-hill, and demanded an audience, " That if they would peaceably retire to " Mile-end, he would meet them, and hear their "demands." The great body of the rioters complied with this meffage; and the King, with a few attendants, all unarmed, leaving the tower, proceeded to that place. Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, with a multitude of their most furious followers, rushed into the tower as foon as the King left it, feized Simon Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, the chancellor, and Sir Robert Hales, the treasurer, and immediately cut off their heads, with those of some other persons of inferior note. 26

The King meets the infurgents.

In the mean time the King reached Mile-end, where he found an immense multitude, computed to be 60,000; to whom he addressed himself in the mildest and kindest language, asking them

<sup>25</sup> Froissart, t. 2. c. 76.

<sup>26</sup> Id. ibid. Walfing. p. 251. Knyghton, col. 2635.

what they wanted, and promifing to grant them A.D. 1381. whatever they defired. They demanded that they, their lands, possessions, and posterity, might be free; and that there might be no flaves or fervitude in England for ever. The King, with the greatest frankness, promised to grant them the most ample charters of freedom, under the great feal, with a pardon for all that was past, provided they would retire peaceably to their own homes. The people joyfully accepted these offers; and about thirty expert clerks being fet to work to write these charters, which consisted only of a few lines, they were fealed, and delivered to all who demanded them, who thereupon returned home, happy in the fuccess of their expedition. 27

While the infurgents from Effex and Hertford- Wat Tyler thire were thus dispersing, those of Kent were still carrying on their ravages in and about London, under the direction of their leader Wat Tyler, who had formed the most diabolical designs. These designs were to seize the King, to murder all the nobility, to plunder and then to burn the city of London. But Providence would not permit fuch hellish purposes to be crowned with fuccess; for on Saturday June 15., as the King was passing through Smithfield, with about fixty horsemen in his train, he met Wat Tyler at the head of twenty thousand of his followers. As soon as Tyler faw the King, he put fpurs to his horse, and pressed into the royal presence, where he behaved in the most clownish and audacious man-

killed.

A.D. 1381. ner, and made the most senseless and extravagant demands 28. The generous Walworth, lord mayor of London, who was in the King's company, not able to bear the infolence of this audacious clown, drew his fword, and with one blow felled him from his horse to the ground, where he was inftantly dispatched.29

The King's prefence of mind.

This bold action might have been fatal to the King, and all his company, if the rioters had been allowed time to recover from their furprife. But while they were standing motionless with astonishment at the unexpected fall of their leader, the young King, with a presence of mind which feemed to be inspired from Heaven, rode up to them, and faid, " My lieges, be not concerned " for the loss of your unworthy leader; I am " your King, I will be your leader, follow me in-" to the fields, and I will grant you whatever " you can defire." The King riding gently on towards the open fields, the multitude followed him, hardly knowing what they did, and still less what they defigned to do.30

Infurgents dispersed.

In the mean time, a cry arose in the city, that the infurgents had the King in their hands, and defigned to murder him. Great multitudes flew to arms to rescue their sovereign, or revenge his death; and the lord mayor, in a short time, collected fome thousands of brave men, well armed. under the command of Sir Robert Knolles and others. He conducted them into the fields, where

<sup>28</sup> Knyghton, p. 2636.

<sup>29</sup> Walfing. p. 253. Froissart, 1. 2. c. 77. 30 Walfing. p. 253. the

the King was communing with the rioters. As A.D. 1381. foon as these wretches beheld the men at arms, they were feized with a panic, fell upon their knees, and implored the King's mercy; which that prince, with equal wisdom and goodness, granted them, on condition that they immediately dispersed and returned home. 31

While thefe furprifing scenes were acting in Insurrec-London, commotions of the fame kind were raif- tions in ed by the people in many other parts of England. places. At St. Alban's, a prodigious mob, under the command of William Gryndicobbe and William Cadyndon a chandler, cut off the heads of feveral gentlemen; and, by threatening to do the fame to the abbot and all his monks, they extorted from them charters of freedom and manumiffion i2. At St. Edmundsbury, a like mob, under one Robert Westbroom, did incredible mischief, and beheaded Sir John Cavendish chief justice of England, and feveral other gentlemen 33. In Norfolk, an immense multitude of rustics had got together, under the command of John Littister, a dyer in Norwich, who assumed the title of King of the Commons. They carried fome lords and gentlemen through the country with them, to countenance their proceedings, which were as cruel and destructive as those of the other rioters 34. But all these insurrections were happily of very fhort continuance. The Norfolk infurgents were defeated and dispersed by Henry Spencer,

<sup>31</sup> Froissart, 1.2. c.77.

<sup>33</sup> Id. p. 261.

<sup>32</sup> Walfing. p. 254, 255, 256, 257.

<sup>34</sup> Id. p. 263.

A.D. 1381. the martial Bishop of Norwich 35. Those of St. Alban's, St. Edmundsbury, and other places, having heard of the death of Wat Tyler, and the dispersion of his followers at London, separated, and retired to their own homes; fo that in a very few days this dreadful ftorm was fucceeded by a profound calm. 36

The King raifes an army, and revokes the charters.

As foon as the infurgents were every where diffipated, the King fummoned all the military tenants of the crown to appear immediately at London, with horses and arms. This summons was fo well obeyed, that in a few days a gallant army of 40,000 horsemen appeared at the rendezvous on Blackheath. As foon as the King found himself supported by so great a power, he issued a proclamation, June 30., commanding all tenants invillainage to perform their usual fervices to their lord 37. In a few days he proceeded a step further; and at Chelmsford, July 2., published letters patent, revoking all the charters of freedom which had been lately granted to the common people of Effex, and fome other places. 38

Infurgents tried and executed.

The kingdom being now reftored to a state of perfect tranquillity, commissions were granted to certain judges to go into the different counties, for the trial of the most criminal of the rioters. These commissions were executed with so much feverity, especially by Sir Robert Trefilian, chief justice of the King's bench, that about fifteen

hundred

<sup>35</sup> Walfing. p. 264.

<sup>37</sup> Rymer, t.7. p. 315, 316.

<sup>36</sup> Froissart, 1.2. c. 77.

<sup>39</sup> Id. ibid. p.217, 218.

hundred unhappy wretches were condemned and A.D. 1381. executed as traitors. 39

The Duke of Lancaster had resided in Scotland Truce with during the late commotions, and concluded a Scotland. truce with that kingdom from July 18. 1381. to February 2. 1384. 43

In his return from Scotland, the governor of Quarrel Berwick, by directions from the Earl of Northumberland, refused him admittance into that town; of Lanwhich created a most violent quarrel between the Duke and that brave and potent Earl. A Northumparliament being fummoned to meet at Westminfter on Monday November 4., both these great peers came to it, attended by their numerous followers in arms, which for fome days interrupted all public bufiness. But the King and lords having at length reconciled these powerful adverfaries, the parliament proceeded in its deliberations on Saturday November 9. 41

between the Duke cafter and the Earl of berland.

This parliament declared, that the late charters Parliaof liberty and manumission, granted to many vil- ment. lains and bond tenants by the King, were null and void. But though they reduced fo great a multitude of their fellow-subjects to a state of servitude, they were not willing to impose any further burden upon them at this time, and refused to grant any fupply. But the King, with equal obstinacy, refusing to grant a general pardon, which was thought necessary for quieting the minds of the

<sup>39</sup> Froissart, t. 2. c. 79.

<sup>41</sup> Froissart, t. 2. c. 80.

<sup>4</sup>º Rymer, vol. 7. p. 312.

A.D. 1381. people after the late commotions, the parliament vielded and granted a fubfidy on wool, wool-fells, and leather 42. After this the general pardon was published, and the parliament was prorogued on December 13., to January 24., to make way for a folemnity of another nature.

A.D. 1382. The King's marriage.

The King being now in the fixteenth year of his age, a treaty of marriage was concluded between him and the Princess Anne, daughter of the late Emperor Charles IV. and fifter to the prefent Emperor Winceslaus King of Bohemia; and the Princess arriving in England, the marriage was folemnized in the beginning of this year. 43

Parliament.

When the parliament reaffembled January 24., the Duke of Lancaster, titular King of Castile and Leon, made a propofal to carry an army into Spain, to the affiftance of the King of Portugal, and to obtain possession of those two kingdoms, if he might be allowed 60,000l. for the pay of that army. This propofal occasioned warm debates, and the Duke was not able to carry his point at this time. The commons however were prevailed upon to continue the high duties on wool, woolfells, and leather, for four years after Midfummer next. 44

Unpopular conduct of the young King.

The brave and prudent part which the young King had acted during the late dangerous infurrections, had filled the minds of his fubjects with the most sanguine expectations of a glorious reign.

<sup>42</sup> Parliament. Hift. vol. 1. p. 363-368.

<sup>43</sup> Walfing. p. 281.

<sup>44</sup> Parliament. Hift. vol. 1. p. 368-370.

But these expectations were not answered; and A.D. 1382. this prince did not long perfift in this honourable courfe. His education had been shamefully neglected by his ambitious uncles, who were too keenly engaged in pursuing their own defigns to be at any pains in forming the mind and manners of their royal pupil. They left him in the hands of young persons of dissolute characters, who corrupted his mind with flattery, and inspired him with the love of pomp and pleafure; fo that he foon became vain, voluptuous, and extravagant, to a very great degree. One of the first unpopular acts of Richard's government, which gave his fubjects an unfavourable impression of his character, was his taking the great feal from Henry le Scroop, to whom it had been committed with the approbation of parliament, because he refused to feal certain extravagant grants of land made to fome retainers about court, who had by no means, merited fuch rewards. The young King, incenfed at this opposition to his will, took the seal into his own hands, put it to these grants, and then delivered it to Robert Braybroke Bishop of London. 45

A parliament met at Westminster, Monday Parlia-October 6., and after fome time spent in delibera- ment. tion, granted the King a fifteenth and a tenth for defraying the expences of the war with France, and the other enemies of the kingdom. 46

The Bishop of Hereford then laid before the Schemes parliament, for their advice, two schemes for pro-

for profecuting the

<sup>45</sup> Walfing. p.290. Rymer, vol. 7. p. 362.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Parliament. Hift. vol. 1. p. 371.

A.D. 1382. fecuting the war. The first was, by fending the Duke of Lancaster into Spain with an army of 2000 men at arms, and archers, for whose pay he now demanded only 43,000l. The other scheme was, to affift the people of Flanders, who were then at war with their own fovereign, who was fupported by France. The house of lords, after a folemn debate, declared it to be their opinion. that the army proposed by the Duke was too small to perform any effectual fervice; and the house of commons discovered a still greater dislike to the Duke's propofal. The whole parliament feemed rather to favour the fecond scheme, of an union with the Flemings. 47

Propofal of the Bishop of Norwich.

This was partly owing to a propofal which was at this time made by the Bishop of Norwich, who had diftinguished himself so much by suppressing the late infurrections in his diocefe. This martial prelate offered to raife an army of 3000 men at arms, and 3000 archers, to transport them to Calais, and, in commetion with the Flemings, to ferve one year against France, on condition of receiving the fubfidies granted in the last parliament, both by the clergy and laity 48. But while the English were deliberating, the French were acting; and having obtained a victory over the Flemings at Comines, and another at Rofebecque, they reduced all Flanders except Gand, which was befieged. 49

<sup>47</sup> Parliament. Hift. vol. 1. p. 371, 372.

<sup>48</sup> Walfing. p. 291.

<sup>49</sup> Froissart, t. 2. ch. 125, 126.

This rapid progress of the French arms, with A.D. 1383. their threatening to beliege Calais, raifed a great alarm in England, and occasioned the meeting of Parliaa parliament on Monday February 23. The Bishop of London, lord chancellor, told the parliament, that the defign of calling them was to have their advice, whether the King should go into Flanders in person, with a royal army, to the relief of Gand, or what other method should be taken to profecute the war 50. The parliament. after deliberating fome days, gave it as their advice, that fince the truce with Scotland was near expiring, and the Scots feemed to be disposed to renew hostilities, it was not proper that either the King, or any of his uncles, should leave the kingdom; but they advifed him rather to accept of the proposal of the Bishop of Norwich, for relieving Gand, and carrying on the war with France. 51

In confequence of this parliamentary advice, an Expedition agreement was made with the Bishop, who failed of the with the best part of his troops to Calais in May 52. Norwich. This ecclefiaftical general was not acting on this occasion so much out of character as may appear at first fight. He found means to bring religion into the quarrel; and was not only general for the King of England against the King of France, but leader of a croifade for Pope Urban VI. who refided at Rome, and was acknowledged by the English, against Pope Clement VII. who resided

<sup>57</sup> Parliament. Hift. vol. 1. p. 373. 51 Id. ibid. p. 374.

<sup>52</sup> Rymer, vol. 7. p. 385. 406. Walfing. p. 298.

A.D. 1383. at Avignon, and was received by the French, Caftilians, and Scots 53. This last character was of great advantage to the Bishop, and enabled him both to raife and pay his army. The military men flew to his standard to gain the pardon of their fins, which was promifed to all who engaged in this pious enterprise; and the good ladies of Eng. land, thinking that the old gentleman at Rome had a much better right to keep the keys of the kingdom of heaven than his antagonist at Avignon, contributed very liberally both in money and jewels to the expences of the expedition. 54

Progress of the Bishop of Norwich.

The Bishop having spent some days at Calais in refreshing his men, took the field, and was very fuccessful in his first military operations. He took Gravelines by affault; and having defeated an army of 30,000 French and Flemings near Dunkirk, he made himself master of that place. He then gained the towns of Burburgh, Cassel, Dixmude, Furnes, Newport, and Popering, with fome others, and befieged Ypres. But this place put a stop to his career: being strongly fortified, and bravely defended, it refifted all his affaults; and his army, hearing of the approach of the King of France, decamped with great precipitation, without his confent. One part of the English army marched to Burburgh, under Sir Thomas Trivet and others, and the other part of it retired, with the Bishop, to Gravelines. The French army invefted Burburgh, and obliged the English

<sup>54</sup> Knyghton, p. 2671. Walfing. p. 297. 53 Walfing. p.201.

to furrender the place, on condition of being A.D. 1383. allowed to march, with their arms, horses, and baggage, to Calais 55. The French then fat down before Gravelines, where, apprehending a flout refistance, they offered the Bishop 15,000 marks, with liberty to demolish the town, and to retire with his army where he pleafed. The Bishop, after waiting some time for succours from England, accepted thefe terms, and having demolished Gravelines, returned home with the fhattered remains of his army 56. Thus ended this famous expedition of this martial Bishop, in which he did not betray any want of military skill or courage.

Soon after the Bishop's return, a parliament Parliamet, October 26., to deliberate concerning a peace with Scotland, and the means of profecuting the war with France and Castile 57. Scots had engaged to fend commissioners to this parliament to negotiate a peace; but, at the instigation of France, they neglected to do this till it was too late 58. The parliament granted the King two half-fifteenths for defraying the expences of the war. 59

The Bishop of Norwich was arraigned before Bishop of this affembly, by the King's ministers, for the Norwich accorded, miscarriage of his expedition; and though he defended himfelf with great spirit, yet finding the

<sup>55</sup> Froissart, l. 2. c. 142. 145. Walfing. p. 298-303.

<sup>56</sup> Walfing. p.305. 57 Parliament. Hift. vol. 1. p. 378.

<sup>58</sup> Walfing. p. 307. 59 Parliament. Hift. vol. r. p. 379.

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A.D. 1383. torrent too ftrong to be refifted, he cast himself on the King's mercy, and was for some time deprived of his temporalities. 60

A.D.1384. Truce with France and Scotland.

About this time overtures for a peace between England and France were made by the Duke of Britanny; and the Duke of Lancaster going over to Calais, entered into a negotiation on that fubject with the Dukes of Berry and Burgundy, uncles to the King of France. But the French infifting on the restitution of Calais, Cherburg, and Brest, these negotiations produced only a truce from January 26. to Michaelmas, in which the Scots were to be included, if they pleafed 61. The Scots meditating an incursion into England, did not immediately accept of the truce; and the Duke of Lancaster, after his return from Calais, made an expedition into Scotland, where he plundered and burnt fome places; which the Scots foon after retaliated, and then acceded to the truce. 62

Confusions in London.

The city of London was about this time a scene of great confusion, and of frequent tumults, occafioned chiefly by John Northampton the late mayor, a creature of the Duke of Lancaster's. But one John Constantin being condemned and executed, and Northampton imprisoned, the tranquillity of the city was restored. 63

Duke of Lancaster

An affair of a very dark and mysterious nature was transacted at a parliament which met at Salif-

<sup>60</sup> Cotton's Abridgment, p. 192.

<sup>61</sup> Rymer, t.7. p. 419-423. Froissart, 1.2. c. 147.

<sup>62</sup> Id. ibid. c. 148, 149, 150. 63 Walfing. p. 108.

bury, April 25. An Irish Carmelite friar accused A.D. 1384, the Duke of Lancaster, before the King and council, of having formed a plot to murder the King and usurp the crown. The Duke, just then returned from his expedition into Scotland, denied the charge with great vehemence, and infifted that his accuser should be confined until he had made good his accufation. The friar was accordingly committed to the custody of Sir John Holland; but he was found dead in his chamber, on the night before the day appointed for his appearance in council. The enemies of the Duke gave out, that the poor friar had been murdered; and the Duke's friends afferted, that he had killed himfelf 64. At this diftance of time it is impossible to discover which of these affertions was most agreeable to truth. This parliament at Salisbury granted the King one half-fifteenth. 65

Though the Duke of Lancaster was very unpo- Truce pular, and generally suspected of the most ambitious and criminal defigns, his power, wealth, and influence, were fo great, that he still had the chief direction of public affairs. He went into France in August, with a grand retinue, to renew the negotiations for a peace; but after spending 50,000 marks he obtained only a truce till May 1., A.D. 1385.66

The King's ministers took the opportunity of Late the Duke's absence to bring his great partisan mayor of London John Northampton to his trial: and he was fen- tried,

66 Rymer, vol. 7. p. 438-447. Walfing. p. 310.

<sup>64</sup> Walfing. p. 309. 65 Id. p. 310.

A.D.1384.

tenced to perpetual imprisonment a hundred miles from London, and his estate confiscated. 67

Intention to bring the Duke of Lancaster to trial. Encouraged by this fuccess, the ministry formed the bold design of bringing the Duke himself to a trial for treason, before Sir Robert Tresilian, chief justice of the King's bench: a design equally imprudent and illegal. The Duke, informed of their intention, retired to his castle of Pontefract, and everything seemed to threaten a civil war; when the Princess of Wales interposed, and with much difficulty patched up a kind of reconciliation between the Duke and the King her son. 68

Parliament. A parliament met at Westminster, November 12., and granted the King two sisteenths to enable him to prosecute the war with France, Castile, and Scotland, at the expiration of the truce. 69

A.D. 1385. Richard's expedition into Scotland. The French, refolving to remove the feat of the war out of their own country, fent John de Vienne, admiral of France, with a fleet, a body of troops, and a large fum of money, to engage the Scots to invade the north of England; while a prodigious fleet and army were preparing in France for an invafion of it in the fouth 7°. The Scots, ever ready to liften to fuch propofals, made an incursion into Northumberland, burning and plundering the country. The King, refolving to march in person against the Scots, summoned all the

<sup>67</sup> Walfing. p. 310. 68 Id. p. 314.

Parliament. Hist. vol. 1. p. 383.

<sup>20</sup> Walfing. p. 316. Froisfart, l. 2. c. 156.

military tenants of the crown, and, in August, A.D. 1385. entered Scotland at the head of thirty thousand horfe, besides foot. The Scots, unable to meet this army in the field, retired northward carrying with them their cattle, and most valuable effects; and the English meeting with no opposition, burnt Edinburgh and fome other towns, and defolated the open country. But while they were thus employed, an army of Scots had entered the west marches, and were acting the same destructive part; which obliged the English to evacuate Scotland, and return, about the middle of September, to the defence of their own country?1. If the other part of the scheme had been as well executed, England would have been exposed to much danger; but so much time was spent in collecting ships for transporting the troops to the English coaft, that it was not till September that a fleet of 1200 fail rendezvoused in the harbour of Sluys. Here they were detained near two months by contrary winds; fo that it was at length refolved to delay the expedition till next fpring. 72

When the King entered Scotland with his Richard army, he conferred new honours, and extravagant grants, on his two great favourites, Michael his favourde la Pole, the chancellor, and Robert de Vere his uncles. Earl of Oxford; and his two uncles, the Earls of Cambridge and Buckingham, were not ashamed at this time to share with these favourites in the spoils of the crown. The Earl of Cambridge,

bestows

72 Froissart, 1.3. c.25.

<sup>71</sup> Knyghton, col. 2742: Froissart, 1.2. c. 171, 172, 173.

A.D.1285. lately returned from Portugal, was made Duke of York, and the Earl of Buckingham Duke of Gloucester, with a grant of 1000l. a-year to each of them 73. Michael de la Pole was made Earl of Suffolk, with a grant of 1000 marks ayear; and the Earl of Oxford was made Marquis of Dublin, and not long after Duke of Ireland, with a grant of the whole kingdom of Ireland. All these new honours and grants were confirmed by a parliament, which met October 20., and gave the King a tenth and fifteenth, and half a tenth and fifteenth for profecuting the war. 74

A.D. 1386. Duke of Lancaster's expedition into Spain.

So good an understanding subsisted at this time between the King's favourites and his uncles, that the Duke of Lancaster was at length indulged in his darling defign of conducting an English army into Spain, to affert his claim to the crowns of Castile and Leon; and one half of the fupplies granted by the last parliament was given him for that purpose. The conjuncture was thought favourable for profecuting this defign. John, the prefent King of Castile, having married Beatrix, the only legitimate child of Ferdinand late King of Portugal, claimed that crown, and, in order to obtain it, besieged Lifbon. But the Portuguese, hating the Castilians, placed John, a natural brother of Ferdinand, on the throne; and under his conduct, raised the fiege of Lifbon, and gained a great victory over

<sup>73</sup> Rymer, vol. 7. p. 481-484.

Walfing. p. 320, 321. 24 Parliament. Hift. vol. 1. p. 387.

the Castilians at Aljubarata 75. The new King of A.D. 1386. Portugal, still dreading the superior power of his rival the King of Castile, entered into a strict alliance with the Duke of Lancaster, engaging to affift him with his whole power in obtaining possession of the kingdoms of Castile and Leon. The Duke, encouraged by fo powerful an ally, raifed an army of 20,000 men; and taking with him his wife Constantia, heiress of Castile, and his daughters, Philippa, Elifabeth, and Catharine, failed from Portfmouth in May; and having, in his paffage, raifed the fiege of Breft, which was belieged by the Duke of Britanny, he arrived at Corunna, August 9.76 Here we shall leave him to profecute his claim, and return to the affairs of England.

The French, thinking this a proper feafon for French invading England, when deprived of fo great a invation number of her bravest sons, made prodigious preparations for that purpose. The army defigned for this expedition, when reviewed at Arras, amounted to 63,000 men, and a fleet of 1200 ships was provided at Sluys for transporting this army 77. These mighty preparations occasioned a great alarm in England, especially at London; but after the first consternation was over, and the military forces of the kingdom were properly stationed along the coasts, they waited with great tranquillity the arrival of the

<sup>76</sup> Id. ibid. c. 29. 31, 32. 75 Froissart, 1.3. c.15. Walfing. p. 321. Knyghton, col. 2677. 77 Walfing. p. 325. Froissart, 1.3. c. 35.

A.D. 1386. enemy. They never did arrive: for the feafon was fo far advanced before the Duke of Berry joined them with his followers, that it was refolved in a great council of war to delay the expedition till the next year 78. Thus ended all those prodigious preparations of the French for invading England, which for feveral months had engaged the attention of all Europe, and by the expences of which many of the French nobility were almost ruined.

Parliament.

While the kingdom was in daily expectation of this French invasion, a parliament was summoned to meet October 1., to provide for the fupport of the great number of troops employed in guarding the coasts. 79

Diffentions between the King and parliament.

It might have been imagined that the impending danger of fo formidable an invasion would have rendered this great affembly hearty and unanimous in supporting government. But this was far from being the cafe. The house of commons, instead of granting supplies, made bitter complaints against Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, lord chancellor, and infifted on his being immediately removed from his high office, and from the King's council. The King, to avoid granting this, retired to Eltham with his whole court; and the parliament fent the Duke of Gloucester (the chief mover of this profecution against the ministers) and James Arundel Bishop of Ely, to invite the

<sup>78</sup> Froissart, l. g. c. 41, 42, 43, 44.

<sup>79</sup> Parliament. Hift. vol. 1. p. 390. Cotton Abridg. p. 314.

King to return to hisparliament; and to threaten, A.D. 1386. that if he did not comply, they would immediately diffolve, and leave the nation in its present distracted state. The King, not complying at first, the parliamentary commissioners made a second speech in a much higher strain, putting him in mind of the deposition of Edward II. and plainly intimating that this would be his fate, if he did not return to his parliament. 80

The King, intimidated by this threat, promifed Earl of to come in three days, and give his parliament condemnfull fatisfaction. He came accordingly, and in ed. full parliament the Bishop of Ely was made chancellor in the room of the Earl of Suffolk, who had refigned, the Bishop of Hereford was made treafurer instead of the Bishop of Durham, and John de Waltham was made keeper of the privy feal. The refignation of the Earl of Suffolk did not appeafe the house of commons, who brought an impeachment against him before the lords, for high crimes and misdemeanors. Such as peruse the articles of this impeachment with candour, will probably be of opinion, that there was much of party-rage in this profecution; and that the Earl's greatest crime was, the too great share he had in the favour and confidence of his royal mafter ". He was found guilty, deprived of all he had received from the crown, except the title of Earl of Suffolk, and 20l. a year out of the pro-

<sup>80</sup> Knyghton, col. 2680-2683.

<sup>81</sup> Id. col. 2684, 2685. Parl. Hift. vol. 1. p. 397-399.

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fits of that county, and committed to the custody of his mortal enemy the Duke of Gloucester.

Council of regency appointed.

The parliament did not think fit to profecute any other of the King's ministers at this time; but they obliged himself to sign a commission to certain lords, eleven in number, with the chancellor, treasurer, and keeper of the privy seal, which divested him of all authority, and entirely changed the English constitution for a season seal and these transactions, this samous parliament granted the King a half tenth and sisteenth, three shillings on every ton of wine, and one shilling in the pound on all merchandize, for the defence of the nation.

Proceedings of the Duke of Lancaster in Spain. The Duke of Lancaster, after landing at Corunna, made an unsuccessful attack on the castle of that place; but he was more fortunate in his attempts on St. Jago de Campostella, Padrone, and some other towns of Gallicia, which submitted. After the campaign was over, he had an interview with the King of Portugal at Porto, where a marriage was solemnized between that King and the Princess Philippa, the Duke's daughter by Blanche of Lancaster, his first wife. At this interview, these two princes settled the plan of their operations for the next campaign, against their common enemy John King of Castile. 83

A.D. 1387. Proceedings of the As foon as the King had figned the above commission, investing the eleven commissioners, toge-

83 Froiffart, l. 3. c. 37, 38, 39.

ther

<sup>82</sup> Knyghton, col. 2686 - 2692. Parl. Hift. vol. 1. p. 401 - 404.

ther with the new chancellor, treasurer, and A.D. 1387. keeper of the privy feal, with an almost unlimited authority, he found that he possessed no more he had than the empty name of king. His person was figned the neglected, his court deferted, and all applications fion of made to the Duke of Gloucester, and the other regency. commissioners, who were all, except the Archbishop of York, zealous partisans of the Duke. This neglect and folitude was very difagreeable to a young prince, fond of power, but still more fond of pomp; and there is no reason to doubt, that he entertained a very lively refentment against his two uncles, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, and the lords of their party, who had reduced him to this flate of infignificancy. He was still attended by a few persons, who were the chief objects of his affection, and were refolved to share his fortunes. The chief of these were Robert de Vere, lately created Duke of Ireland. the Earl of Suffolk, who had escaped out of his prison at Windfor, Alexander Nevel, Archbishop of York, Sir Robert Trefilian, chief justice of the king's bench, Sir Nicholas Brembre, late mayor of London, Sir Simon de Burley, constable of Dover castle, and some others of inferior note. The King held frequent confultations with thefe confidents about the means of emancipating himfelf from his present state of subjection, and recovering his loft authority. In these confultations. it is not improbable, that fomevery rash and desperate propofals were made. But many defigns are faid to have been formed by the King and his ministers.

King after

A.D. 1387.

ministers, so foolish as well as wicked, that it feems probable they were the political lies of the day, invented and propagated by his enemies, to inflame the popular hatred against him and his favourites. Sometimes it was reported, that the King and his ministers designed to seize the third part of every man's personal estate, or to impose a heavy tax on every man's head of 6s. 8d. At other times it was rumoured, that Richard intended to poifon the Duke of Gloucester at a city-feast, or to murder him in an ambuscade. One day it was given out, that the King was bringing over an army of Bohemians and Germans, and the next, an army of French, to cut the throats of all his enemies 84. These reports were circulated with great industry by the prevailing party, and rendered the unhappy Richard, and his few adherents, the objects of universal detestation.

Intended invalion from France prevented. While this was the state of affairs in England, the French were preparing for an invasion. But when all things were in readiness, an event happened which entirely blasted the design. De Clisson constable of France, who was to command in this expedition, had lately paid a great sum of money for the ransom of John de Blois, pretender to the duchy of Britanny, who had been many years a prisoner in England. This raised the jealousy of the reigning Duke of Britanny, who seized De Clisson when he was ready to embark, and threw

<sup>84</sup> Froiffart, I.3. c. 77, 78. Walfing. p. 324.

him into prison 85. In the mean time the Earl of A.D. 1187. Arundel, admiral of England, put to fea with a gallant fleet; and falling in with a large fleet of French, Flemish, and Spanish merchantmen, escorted by some ships of war, on March 24., he obtained a complete victory, took a hundred and fixty fail, loaded chiefly with wine, and brought them into England. 36

The Duke of Lancaster, with his fon-in-law the Proceed-King of Portugal, took the field about the begin- ings of the Duke of ning of May, and made themselves masters of Lancaster. fome places in the kingdom of Leon. But the in Spain. King of Castile having received a reinforcement of French troops, appeared at the head of an army, and put a stop to their further progress. The heat of the climate was more destructive to the English army than their enemies; and two thirds of them are faid to have died this fummer of a contagious diftemper. The Duke himfelf was feized with the fame diftemper, and brought to the point of death, After his recovery, despairing of the conquest of Castile, he retired, with his family, and the shattered remains of his army, into Guienne. 87

King Richard, to divert his chagrin, and per- Confultahaps with fome other views, fet out with a flender tion at retinue, about the beginning of August, on a pro- ham. gress into the north. At Nottingham, on the 25th of that month, he held a council of his con-

<sup>85</sup> Froissart, 1.3. c.75, 76.

<sup>86</sup> Walfing. p. 396. Knyghton, col. 2692.

<sup>97</sup> Froissart, 1.3. c.87, 88, 89. 91, 92. 94.

A.D. 1387. fidents, confifting of the Archbishops of York and Dublin, the Bishops of Durham, Chichester, and Bangor, the Duke of Ireland, the Earl of Suffolk, and a few others. At this council certain questions were proposed to the judges, who attended for that purpose, concerning the illegality of the late famous commission. To these questions the judges returned answers in writing, under their feals, declaring the commission illegal; and that all who advised, promoted, and acted under it, were guilty of treason, and ought to be punished as traitors. 88

The King returns to London.

This transaction did not long remain a fecret; for the very next day Roger Fulthorp, one of the justices of the common pleas, communicated it to the Earl of Kent, and it foon reached the ears of the Duke of Gloucester, and the lords of hisparty, whom it fo nearly concerned. Alarmed at this intelligence, the Duke and his partifans determined to prevent their own destruction, by the ruin of their enemies about the King. With this view they fent private orders to their friends and followers to hold them felves in readine s to take arms at a moment's warning; and dispatched the Archbishop of Canterbury to persuade the King to return to London, which, being entirely at their devotion, was the most proper place for executing their defign. The Archbishop succeeded in his embaffy, and, without much difficulty, perfuaded the King and his favourites (who do not feem to have had the least suspicion of what was designed against

them)

<sup>88</sup> Knyghton, col. 2693. Parl. Hift. vol. 1. p. 407, &c.

them) to return to London. The King, accom- A.D. 1387. panied by his devoted ministers, entered that city on Monday November 10., and was received by the mayor, and a great multitude of citizens, on horseback, and conducted to his palace. 89

telligence that the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls

of Arundel and Warwick, were approaching, at partifans the head of an army of 40,000 men 90. He did not long remain ignorant of their intentions; for these lords, being arrived with their army at Haringay park, fent a letter to the lord mayor of London, on Wednesday the 13th, desiring, or rather commanding, him to make proclamation in the city, that their defign in taking arms was to bring the traitors about the King's person, viz. the Archbishop of York, the Duke of Ireland, the Earl of Suffolk, Robert Trefilian false justice, and Nicholas Brembe false knight, to

justice or. The next day the three lords were joined at Waltham-cross by the Earl of Derby and the Earl Marshal; and these five made a formal appeal, or accufation of high treason, against the five ministers above mentioned, before the prelates of Canterbury and Ely, who notified this appeal that same day to the King at West-

But the very next day the King received in- Duke of Gloucester

It was now high time for those five who faw their destruction was determined, to confult their cester, &c.

introduced

32 Knyghton, col. 2700.

minster, 92

<sup>89</sup> Knyghton, col. 2696. 9º Id. col. 2699. 91 Id. ibid. Brady Hift. vol. 2. p. 36%.

A.D. 1387. to the King in Westminster-hall.

own prefervation. The Duke of Ireland made his escape into the north, and the rest concealed themselves in different places. After this the lords appellants, as the Duke of Gloucester, and the four earls were called, agreed to appear before the King in Westminster-hall, on Sunday the 17th, to make known their grievances and defires 93. On that day the lords entered the city with extreme caution, and pretended to be under the greatest apprehensions of being surprised and destroyed by their enemies. They spent so much time in fearching York-house; the Mews, and other places, for ambushes, that the King waited two hours in Westminster-hall, seated on his throne, before they appeared. When they approached the throne, they fell upon their knees, and, with great professions of loyalty, declared, that in taking up arms they had no defign against his royal person or authority, but only to bring the five traitors whom they had accused to punishment. The King, taking each of them by the hand, raifed them from their knees, and affured them, that the persons appealed should be brought before the next parliament, which was to meet on February 3., to undergo their trial.94

Duke of Ireland defeated. In the mean time, the Duke of Ireland was endeavouring to raife an army for his own defence and the deliverance of his royal master; and, by the assistance of some gentlemen in Cheshire, he got together a body of 5000 men, with which he

<sup>38</sup> Knyghton, col. 2701. Walfing. p. 330.

<sup>94</sup> Id. p.331. Rymer, vol. 7. p. 567.

begun his march towards London, in hopes that A.D. 1387. his forces would increase as he advanced. But the confederated lords immediately put themselves at the head of their army, reinforced by a great body of Londoners, and marched northwards. The two armies met December 20., at Radcotbridge in Oxfordshire, where a battle was fought, in which the troops of the Duke of Ireland were entirely routed, the Duke escaping with great difficulty, by paffing the river Isis on horseback, at the hazard of his life, 95

imprisoned

The Duke of Gloucester, with the lords of his TheKing's party, marched back to London with their vic- attendants torious army, and arrived at Clerkenwell De- or banishcember 26., where they were met by the lord ed. mayor, who delivered to them the keys of the city. That fame day they had a conference with the King in the tower, who being now wholly in their power, gave orders for committing to prison, or banishing from court, every person whom they thought fit to name. About fourteen lords, knights, and gentlemen, were committed on this occasion to different castles, to take their trials at the approaching parliament; two bishops, three lords, and three ladies, were banished from court: not so much as one person being left about the King for whom he had the least affection, or in whom he could place the smallest confidence. 96

On Monday February 3. that famous parlia- A.D. 1388. ment, fo much dreaded by the one party, and Parlia-

<sup>5</sup> Knyghton, col. 2703.

<sup>95</sup> Id. col. 2705, 2706.

A.D. 1388.

defired by the other, met at Westminster. The fession was opened by a speech from the lord chancellor, the Bishop of Ely, declaring the defign of the meeting to be, " To confider by " what means the troubles in the kingdom, for " want of good government, might be ended, " the King better advised, the realm better go-" verned, misdemeanors more severely punished, " good men better encouraged, the fea best kept, " the marches of Scotland best defended, and "Guienne preserved; and how the charges of all " these things might be most easily borne 97." The five lords appellants then exhibited their accufation of high treason against Alexander Archbishop of York, Robert de Vere Duke of Ireland, Michael de la Pole Earl of Suffolk, Sir Robert Trefilian, and Sir Nicholas Brembre, digefted into thirty-nine articles 98. These articles are very long, containing many general charges against the accufed—of engroffing the royal favour—giving the King ill advice-obtaining grants for themfelves and their friends from the crown, and the like. The famous opinion of the judges at Nottingham wasnot forgotten; every thing was much exaggerated, and expressed with the greatest acrimony. The accused being called several days, and not appearing, and the lords having taken fome time to examine the articles, they, on Thursday 13th of February, condemned all the

<sup>97</sup> Parliament, Hift. vol. 1. p.411.

<sup>98</sup> Brady Hift. vol. 2. p. 372-383. Parliament. Hift. vol. 1. p. 414-427.

five to be executed as traitors, and their estates A.D. 1488. confiscated. 99

The Duke of Ireland had made his escape into Destruc-Holland, where he died about four years after. tion of the King's fa-The Earl of Suffolk also got beyond feas, and died vourites. at Paris this same year 100. The Archbishop of York was taken at Shields; but his enemies not daring to execute one of his character, he was allowed to escape, and spent the short remainder of his days in Flanders, as curate of a small parish. Sir Robert Trefilian and Sir Nicholas Brembre being taken, were executed, the one on the 19th, the other on the 20th of February. 101

To pay a compliment to the King, when they were thus deftroying his most zealous friends, the prevailing party thought fit to have it declared in parliament, that nothing contained in the articles against the five condemned traitors should reflect any dishonour on the King, on account of his youth, and the innocency of his royal person. 102

Compliment to the King.

On the first day of the parliament, Sir Robert Judges ba-Belknap, chief justice of the common pleas. Sir Roger Fulthorp, Sir John Holt, Sir William Burgh, judges of the fame court, Sir John Carey, chief baron of the exchequer, and John Loketon, king's fergeant, had been taken out of the courts of Westminster-hall, and committed to the tower: and on Monday March 2. they were impeached by the commons, of high treason, for putting

<sup>99</sup> Parliament. Hift. vol. 1. p. 414-427.

<sup>100</sup> Speed, p. 604. 102 Id. ibid. p. 432.

Line & La-

A.D. 1388, their hands and feals to the famous questions and answers at Nottingham. The judges and fera geant pleaded in excuse, that they had been tion of the overawed and threatened by the Archbishop of York, the Duke of Ireland, and Earl Suffolk to do what they had done. No regard was paid to this excuse; and on March 6. they were all condemned to be drawn and hanged as traitors, and their estates confiscated. But their lives were fpared, at the intercession of the bishops; and they were fent into Ireland, and there confined to different towns for life. 103

Others condemned and executed.

On Tuesday March 3., John Blake and Thomas Usk were impeached of high treason by the commons; the former for drawing up the questions proposed to the judges at Nottingham, and the latter for procuring himfelf to be made underfheriff of Middlesex, with a design to arrest the Duke of Gloucester and other lords. They both pleaded, that they acted by the King's command. But without any regard to this plea, they were condemned on March 4. to be drawn and hanged as traitors; and this fentence was executed upon them that same day. 104

Bishop of Chichester banished.

On Friday March 6., the Bishop of Chichester, the King's confessor, was impeached of high treafon by the commons, for being present when the questions were proposed to the judges at Nottingham, and for perfuading and threatening them to

Parliament. Hist. vol. 1. p. 432. Rymer, vol. 7. p. 591.

Parliament. Hift. vol. 1. p. 434.

give their answers. He denied the last part of the A.D.1388. charge with great folemnity, and declared, that the judges had acted on that occasion with perfect freedom. But notwithstanding this defence, he was condemned to the punishment of a traitor, his eftate confiscated, and the temporalities of his fee to be feized into the King's hands. But his life was fpared on account of his office, and he was banished into Ireland. 105

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The vindictive spirit of the Duke of Gloucester More perand his party was not yet fatisfied; for on March fons ac-12., Sir Simon Burley, Sir John Beauchamp, Sir John-Salifbury, and Sir James Berners, were all impeached of high treason; and a charge, confifting of fixteen articles, exhibited against them by the commons. The chief crimes alledged against them in these articles were, their being privy to the defigns of the five perfons first condemned by this parliament; their possessing too great a fhare in the favour and confidence of the King, and giving him ill advice. They all pleaded, Not guilty; and the holidays now approaching, the parliament adjourned on Friday March 20., to Monday April 14. This famous parliament was by this time become little better than a party confederacy, ready to gratify all the passions of the Duke of Gloucester and the other lords; for on the day of the adjournment all the members of both houses took a folemn oath, to stand by Thomas Duke of Gloucester, Henry Earl of Derby, Richard Earl of Arundel and Surrey,

A.D. 1388. Thomas Earl of Warwick, and Thomas Earl Marshal, to maintain and support them with all their power, and to live and die with them against all men. 106

> During the recess of parliament, great endeayours were used to save the lives of the four impeached knights, particularly of Sir Simon Burlev. This gentleman had been greatly esteemed by Edward III. and the Black Prince, by whom he had been appointed tutor to Richard. He was much beloved by the King, whom he had constantly attended from his infancy; and having conducted the Queen into England, he stood high in her favour. This princefs, who was commonly called the good Queen Anne, fell on her knees before the Duke of Gloucester, and with the most earnest importunity begged the life of Burley 103. But all in vain; the Duke was inexorable; and Burley being brought into parliament on May 5., was found guilty of high treason, and beheaded that same day on Towerhill. On the 12th May, the other three knights had the same sentence pronounced, and executed upon them, Beauchamp and Berners being beheaded, and Salifbury hanged. 108

Grants.

The parliament had, in the intervals of thefe trials, found leifure to grant the King three shillings on every ton of wine imported, a shilling in the pound on all merchandife, except wool,

Dike of Glanocher, theor

<sup>195</sup> Brady Hift. vol. 2. Append. No. 106.

<sup>107</sup> Vita Richardi II. p. 102.

<sup>108</sup> Parliament. Hift. vol. I. p. 436.

one half-tenth, and one half-fifteenth; and on A.D. 1288. June 2., they continued the high duties on wool, wool-fells, and leather 109. The Duke of Gloucester, having taken this dreadful vengeance on his enemies, did not forget to reward himself and his friends; for he obtained a vote for 20,000l, to himfelf and the other lords appellants, out of the fubfidy on wool; and then this parliament was diffolved June 4., after a fession of four months, the longest that had ever been in England.

The fentiments of the people of those times Observawere much divided concerning the conduct of tion. this famous parliament. The prevailing party called it " the parliament that wrought won-" ders:" but others gave it the appellation of " the parliament without mercy "." It cannot be denied, that this affembly declared many things to be high treason, and punished them as such, which bore no refemblance to that great offence; never reflecting, when inflamed with party-rage, that they were making precedents which might one day prove fatal to themselves, or their posterity.

It was very happy for the English at this time, Battle of that the King of France was fo much engaged in emancipating himself from the dominion of his uncles, that he could take no advantage of their civil diffensions. But the Scots made feveral incursions into the north of England in

<sup>109</sup> Rymer, vol. 7. p. 620. Cotton's Abridg. p. 332. Knyghton, col. 2701.

A.D. 1388, this fpring and fummer; and an army of them, commanded by the Earl of Douglas, befieged Newcastle. Henry Lord Percy, better known in history by the name of Hotspur, obliged the Scots to raife the fiege; and following them to Otterburn, a bloody battle was there fought, August 10., in which Earl Douglas was slain on the one fide, and on the other Hotspur and his brother Ralph Percy were taken prisoners; and both nations claimed the victory ". The Earl of Arundel, admiral of England, put to fea this fummer, with a gallant fleet, made some descents on the coast of France, and took a considerable number of ships. 112

Transactions of the Duke of Lancafter.

The Duke of Lancaster spent this whole year in Guienne, where he was more fuccessful in his political intrigues, than he had been the year before in his warlike enterprifes. The Duke of Berry, uncle to the King of France, paid his addresses to the Princess Catharine, only child of the Duke of Lancaster, and his wife Constance, heiress of Castile. The King of Castile was greatly alarmed at the news of this courtship, apprehending, that if this marriage took effect, it would produce a peace between France and England; and that these two powerful nations would unite in pulling him down from his throne, and placing the Duke of Berry in his room. To prevent this danger he caufed very advantageous propofals to be made to

Knyghton, col. 2728, 2729. Froisfart, 1.3. c. 123-129. 112 Id. ibid. c. 116, 117. 133.

the Duke of Lancaster for a marriage between A.D.1388. Catharine and his eldest fon Henry Prince of Castile. The Duke, wifely confidering that this was the most direct way of putting an end to all disputes about the crown of Castile, as well as of gaining great advantages to himfelf, accepted of these proposals; by which he was to receive 200,000 crowns for the expences of his expedition, together with an annuity of 10,000 florins to himself, and one of an equal sum to his wife Constance, during their respective lives. 113

The kings of England and France being both A.D.1389. heartily wearied of that war which had fo long fubfifted between the two nations, fent their plenipotentiaries to Lenlinghen, who concluded a truce till August 16., A. D. 1392.; in which all the allies of both crowns were included. 114

Truce with France.

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Though Richard had now submitted about a Richard year to the dictates of the Duke of Gloucester, affumes the gowho ruled every thing at his pleafure, he fecretly vernment, refolved to throw off the yoke as foon as possible. In confequence of this resolution, when a very numerous council was affembled, May 3., the King entered, and, in a resolute tone, demanding to know, What age he was? It was answered, in his twenty-fecond year. Am I not then at age, replied he, to take the reins of government into my own hands, and no longer to remain under the management of tutors? The Gloucesterian party were ftruck dumb by this unexpected blow; and

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Richard,

<sup>113</sup> Froissart, 1. 3. c. 138. 140. Walfing. p. 347. Rymer, vol. 7. 114 Rymer, vol. 7. p. 623. p. 603.

A.D.1389.

Richard, proceeding with spirit, took the great feal from Arundel Archbishop of York, and gave it to William of Wickham, Bishop of Winchester; he turned out the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Warwick and Arundel, and all who had been brought into office by them, and put others in their room 115. Thus was this triumphant party divested in a moment of that authority which they had obtained with so much labour, and had endeavoured to secure by shedding so much blood.

Wife administration. The first steps which Richard took after this total change in the administration were very prudent. He issued a proclamation, May 16., to inform all his subjects, that he had taken the government into his ownhands; and that they might now expect to enjoy greater tranquillity than they had formerly done. Soon after he published a general pardon, and remitted the half-tenth and half-sisteenth which had been granted by the last parliament. These gentle measures so quieted the minds and gained the affections of the people, that the discarded party sound it impossible to raise the least disturbance. 116

Duke of Lancaster returns to England. While things were in this fituation, the Duke of Lancaster returned into England in November, after an absence of more than three years<sup>117</sup>. Soon after his arrival, Richard held a great council of peers at Reading; where the Duke of Glou-

Vita R. II. p. 108. Rymer, vol. 7. p. 616. 618. 620. Walfing. p. 337. Knyghton, col. 2734.

<sup>116</sup> Rym. Fæd. vol. 7. p. 62e.

<sup>117</sup> Walfing. p. 342.

cefter, and the lords of his party, were brought to court by Lancaster, and seemingly, at least, reconciled to the King by his mediation. 118

A.D. 1389.

The flames of party which had raged with fo A.D. 1390. much violence, being now a little smothered, a Parliaparliament met in great tranquillity, January 17. at Westminster 119. The Bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor, opened the fession with a speech, in which he declared, that the King being now of full age, was determined to govern his fubjects in peace and quiet, and to do justice to all, both of the clergy and laity. He put them also in mind, that the nation being furrounded with enemies, it would be necessary either to make peace or provide for war 120. On the fourth day of the parliament, the lord chancellor delivered the great feal, and the Bishop of St. David's the treasurer, delivered the keys of the exchequer, to the King before both houses; and all the other members of the council begged leave to refign their feveral offices, which was granted. After all these resignations, it was declared in full parliament, that if any one had any complaint to make against any of these persons, they might now do it with all freedom. It was answered by both lords and commons, " That they knew " nothing amiss of any of them, and that they " had behaved themselves well in their respec-" tive offices." After this honourable testimony

<sup>118</sup> Walfing. p. 342.

Parliament. Hift. vol. 1. p. 442.

<sup>120</sup> Id. ibid.

A.D. 1200. in their favour, the Kingre-delivered the feal to the Bishop of Winchester, and the keys of the exchequer to the Bishop of St. David's, and restored all the rest to their former offices, at the same time admitting the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester into the council; but with this protestation, that he still had it in his power to retain or difmifs any of these counsellors at his pleasure. 121

Grants.

The King's uncles had by this time paid their court fo effectually to their royal nephew, that they obtained the most valuable favours from him in this parliament. The Duke of Lancaster was created Duke of Aquitaine for life, with a grant of all the revenues of that duchy. Edward, eldeft fon of the Duke of York, was created Earl of Rutland, with a grant of 800 marks a-year to fupport that dignity. The commons granted the King forty shillings on every fack of wool exported, and five marks on every last of leather, one-third of which to supply the King's present occasions, and the remainder to be referved as a fund in cafe of war. 122

Parlia. ment.

Inanother parliament which met November 12.. this fubfidy on wool, wool-fells, and leather, was continued for three years; and one half-tenth, and one half-fifteenth, were granted to defray the expences of the Duke of Lancaster, and other plenipotentiaries, who were to be fent to Amiens to negotiate a peace with France 123. In this parlia-

Parliament. Hift. vol. 1. p.442.

<sup>122</sup> Cotton Abridg. p. 332.

Knyghton, col. 2739.

ment the King confirmed a grant which he had A.D. 1390. formerly made, to the Dukes of York and Gloucefter, of 1000l. a year 124. To repair the breaches which had been made in the constitution during the late commotions, it was declared by this parliament, "That the present King should be " as free, and enjoy all the prerogatives that " any of his noble progenitors, formerly kings " of England, had enjoyed 125." Nay, fo good an understanding subsisted at this time between the King and his people, that on the last day of this parliament both houses returned their humble thanks to the King, for his good government, and for the great affection and zeal he had continually shewn for the good of his people; and the King thanked them for their grants. 126

Nothing happened during this whole year to A.D. 1301. disturb that happy tranquillity which England Parlianow enjoyed. A parliament which met Novem- ment. vember 3., at Westminster, granted the King ample fupplies, and confirmed all his royal prerogatives by a flatute. 127

As the truce between England and France, A.D. 1392. and their allies on both fides, was to expire this Truce. year in August, great endeavours were used to bring about a peace before that time. For this purpose conferences were held at Amiens in the fpring, which produced only a prolongation of the truce to Michaelmas A.D. 1393. 123

124 Parliament. Hift. vol. 1. p. 448.

<sup>125</sup> Id. ibid. 127 Id. ibid.

<sup>126</sup> Id. ibid. 123 Rymer. Fæd. t. 7. p. 722. Walfing. p. 347.

A.D. 1392. Quarrel between the court and city.

In the mean time, the city of London fell under the heavy displeasure of the court on account of fome tumults, in one of which the populace affaulted the palace of the Bishop of Salisbury, who was high treasurer. For these offences the mayor and sheriffs were imprisoned, and the city was deprived of its liberties. But the citizens having submitted to the King's pleafure, and implored his mercy, he entered the city in a kind of triumph, August 21., and was received with great demonstrations of respect and joy. Soon after this all their charters were reftored and confirmed, at the intercession of the Queen 129. But the King's feverity feems to have made a deeper impression on the minds of the citizens than his mercy.

A.D. 1393. Truce.

Conferences for a peace between France and England were held at Lenlinghen, in the fpring of this year; and with fome interruptions, continued to May 27., A.D. 1394., when a truce for four years was concluded. 130

A.D. 1394. into Ireland.

A temporary peace being now established, Ri-Expedition chard resolved upon an expedition into Ireland, to fettle the affairs of that kingdom, as well as to divert his grief for the loss of his beloved confort, the good Queen Anne, who died at Shene, on Whitfunday this year 131. All the English who had estates in Ireland were commanded, by a proclamation, to be in that kingdom

<sup>130</sup> Rymer, Fæd. t.7. p.770. 129 Walfing. p.348, &c. Knyghton, col.2741. Walfing. p. 350.

-by September 8. 132. Having provided a fleet and A.D. 1394. army, the King failed from Milford-haven about Michaelmas, and foon after landed in Ireland, where he met with little opposition: for the Irish chieftains, finding themselves unable to make effectual refiftance, came in and made their fubmiffions; and Richard, who was naturally generous, received them kindly, and loaded them with prefents. Having held a parliament, and spent the winter in Dublin, he returned into England in the fpring A.D. 1395. 133

While the King was in Ireland, the Duke of A.D. 1305. York, who had been appointed regent, called a Parliaparliament, which met at Westminster 28th January, and granted a tenth from the clergy, and a fifteenth from the laity, for defraying the expences of the Irish expedition. But to this grant the parliament annexed a protestation, "That " it was not made de jure, but out of good will

and affection to the King. 134

Richard, having been about a year a widower, Embaffy to refolved upon a fecond marriage, and fent a France. splendid embassy to the court of France, to demand the Princess Isabella, eldest daughter of Charles VI., a child betwen feven and eight years of age 135. He was probably determined to this unequal match by the hopes of accelerating the peace between the two nations, and of procuring

135 Rymer. Fæd. t.7. p.802.

<sup>132</sup> Knyghton, col. 2741. Walfing. p. 350.

<sup>433</sup> Walfing. p. 351. 134 Parliament. Hift. vol. I. p. 454.

A.D. 1395. a powerful support against his uncles, particularly the Duke of Gloucester, of whose factious spirit he was in continual dread.

A.D. 1396. The King's marriage.

The English ambassadors at the court of France having fettled all the articles of the intended marriage, the contract was confirmed by Charles VI. at Paris, March o. A. D. 1396. 136 At the fame time and place, a prolongation of the truce between France and England, for twenty-five years, was ratified 137. As the King of England and the French Princess were within the prohibited degrees of confanguinity, a dispensation from the Pope was necessary; which retarded the marriage till November 1., when it was celebrated with great pomp in the church of St. Nicholas, at Calais, by the Archbishop of Canterbury. 138

A.D. 1397. Duke of Gloucefter, &c. apprehended.

Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, the youngest of King Richard's three uncles, was a prince of a covetous, ambitious, proud, and turbulent disposition. Though he had received grants of immense value from his nephew, he was constantly engaged in factious machinations, to diffurb his government. He had been at the head of that party which had extorted a commission to do what they pleafed, A. D. 1386., and had made fuch a cruel use of their power, by destroying all the King's ministers, judges, and servants. Hehad opposed the French marriage and truce while they were in agitation, and exclaimed loudly against

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137 Id. ibid. p.821, &c.

<sup>136</sup> Rymer. Fæd. t.7. p. 820.

<sup>138</sup> Id. ibid. p. 846. Walfing. p. 353.

them aftertheywere concluded. Hefeldom came A.D. 1397. to court, but to infult his fovereign, or to council, but to thwart his measures 139. He had several meetings in the fpring and fummer of this year with the principal prelates and nobles of his party; in which, it is faid, the most daring defigns were formed against the government, if not against the person of the King 140. Richard was not ignorant of his uncle's disaffection, and began to be under uneafy apprehensions about its consequences. These apprehensions were much increased by his two uterine brothers, the Earls of Kent and Huntington, and by his other confidents, who earneftly intreated him to prevent his own destruction and that of all his friends, by feizing the Duke of Gloucefter, with the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, his chief accomplices 141 To this the King at length gave his confent. The Duke of Gloucester was surprised at his castle of Pleshy in Essex, hurried on board a ship, and conveyed to Calais, as a place of the greatest security. The two Earls were feized at the same time in London. and committed to prison. 142

As foon as those great persons were in custody, a Council at council was held at Nottingham, August 1., to con- Nottingfider in what manner they were to be profecuted. At this council an appeal of treason was brought by fix earls and two lords, against the Duke of

Fabian. Chronicle, vol. 2. p. 149. Froissart, v. 4. c. 86.

<sup>141</sup> Rymer, vol. 8. p. 6, 7. 140 Id. ibid.

<sup>142</sup> Walfing. p. 354. Froissart, 1.4. c.90.

A.D. 1397.

Gloucester, the Earls of Arundel and Warwick. to which they were to answer at the next parliament, which was fummoned to meet at Westminster September 17. In ward and his amitsant

Parliament.

Great preparations were made for this famous parliament, which was to determine the fate of a prince of the blood, and of some of the most powerful nobles of the kingdom. A wooden building, of great extent, was erected near Westminster-hall, for the reception of so numerous an affembly 143. Six hundred men at arms, and two hundred archers, were raifed for a guard to the King; and all the lords came attended with fuch prodigious retinues, that they not only filled all the lodgings in London and its fuburbs, but in all the towns and villages within ten or twelve miles around 144. In the fecond fession, the clergy of both provinces appointed Sir Thomas Percy their procurator in the intended trials, at which the canons of the church did not permit them to be present 145. In the same session, the commission of regency, in the tenth year of the King's reign, was declared to have been traiteroufly made: and all the pardons which had been granted to those who had acted under it were cancelled. Next day the commons impeached Thomas Arundel Archbishop of Canterbury of treason; and the day after he was found guilty, and

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Stow's Chron. p.315.
Holinshed, Chron. p.490.

<sup>15</sup> Walfing. p. 354.

To solut

Gloucefter mur-

dered.

banished the kingdom 146. In the next session, A.D. 13976 the lords appellants gave in their articles of accufation against the Earl of Arundel, which confifted of the feveral things he had done in procuring and executing the above commission. After a very fliort trial, he was condemned, carried directly from the barto Tower-hill, and there beheaded, September 21. 147 On the fame day, a mandate was iffiged by the King and his council in parliament, to Thomas Earl Marshal, governor of Calais, to bring the Duke of Gloucester to the bar of the house as foon as possible, to answer to the accufation that had been given in against him by the lords appellants 148. To this mandate the Earl Marshal returned this answer, September 24. "That he could not bring the faid Duke before " the King and his councilin that parliament; for "that, being in his custody in the King's prison " at Calais, he there died." The lords appellants and the house of commons then demanded, that the late Duke of Gloucester should be declared to have been a traitor, and all his estates and honours forfeited; which was accordingly done 49. In the interval between the above mandate and the return, the Earl of Warwick was tried, and found guilty of treason; but the King spared his life, and. configned him to perpetual confinement in the ifle of Man150. The four great objects of the King's displeasure being thus disposed of, the commons

<sup>146</sup> Walfing. p.354. 147 Id. p. 354, 355. 148 Rymeri Fæd. t. 8. p. 15. 149 Parliament. Hist. vol. 1. p. 471. 150 Walfing. p. 355.

A.D. 1397. interceded for favour to the other prelates and lords who had been named in that famous commission, for which the four already tried had been condemned. 155 Parties President to Mastillion

Duke of Gloucefter murdered.

The time, place, and other circumstances of the death of the Duke of Gloucester, excited strong fuspicions that he had been murdered; and these fuspicions, it must be confessed, were highly probable. The King and his ministers, it was faid, not daring to bring a prince fo nearly related to the crown, and fo exceedingly popular (particularly in London), to a public trial and execution, had employed affaffins to murder him in prison; a policy equally weak and wicked, which juftly brought much odium on the King and his confidential fervants. The precise time and manner of Gloucester's death were never certainly known, and are differently related by different authors. 152

The King was fo well pleafed with this fession of parliament, which had been perfectly subservient to his will, that on the last day of it (September 29.), he advanced the Earls of Derby, Rutland, Kent, Huntington, and Nottingham, to be dukes of Hereford, Albemarle, Surrey, Exeter, and Norfolk; the Earl of Somerfet to be marquis of Dorfet, the Lords Despenser, Nevile, Percy, and Scrope, to be Earls of Gloucester, Westmoreland, Worcester, and Wiltshire; and then adjourned the

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<sup>151</sup> Parliament. Hist. vol. 1. p. 478.

<sup>52</sup> Froissart, t.4. c.90. p.292. Walfing. p.355.

parliament to the 27th January, to be then held A.D. 1397. at Shrewsbury. 153

When the parliament met at Shrewsbury, pro- AD. 1398. ceeding in the same tract of submission to the royal pleasure, it reversed all the acts of that Shrewsfamous parliament, A.D. 1388., in which the bury. Duke of Gloucester's party had predominated, and had executed vengeance on all their oppofers. The answers of the judges, for which they had been condemned as traitors, were now declared to be the answers of good and loyal subjects 154. Several persons who had been of the Duke of Gloucester's party were condemned and forfeited; but their lives were spared. The house of commons granted very liberal supplies; and still further to manifest their affection to the King. they petitioned the house of lords to contrive fome method to fecure the transactions of that parliament from fuch changes as had happened to those of former parliaments. After deliberating among themselves, and consulting with the judges, all the lords, spiritual and temporal, took a folemn oath on the crofs of Canterbury, never to fuffer any of the transactions of that parliament to be changed; while all the members of the house of commons held up their hands, to fignify their taking the same oath. The King, to crown the whole, procured a bull from the Pope, to confirm all the acts of that parliament, which he caused to be publicly read in all the chief cities

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<sup>153</sup> Parliament. Hift. vol. 1. p. 479.

<sup>154</sup> Ruffhead's Statutes, vol. 1. p. 419, 420.

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A.D. 1308, of the kingdom 155. But it foon appeared, that these were feeble securities against the torrent of faction, which in those times ran, fometimes on one fide and fometimes on another, with fuch violence, that it levelled every mound and overwhelmed all that flood in its way.

Quarrel between the Dukes of Hereford and Norfolk.

In the time of this parliament, a quarrel broke out between the Dukes of Hereford and Norfolk. which was attended with the most important and unexpected confequences. On the last day of January, and of the parliament, the Duke of Hereford prefented a schedule to the King, which he faid contained an account of certain flanderous words which the Duke of Norfolk had fpoken to him of his Majesty 156. This schedule being read, the lords and commons referred the determination of that affair to the King, and a committee of twelve lords and fix commoners. which the two houses had that day chosen, and invested with parliamentary powers. 157

Dukes of Hereford and Norfolk banished.

After this famous parliament was diffolved, the King held feveral deliberations with the parliamentary commissioners, on the dispute between the Dukes of Hereford and Norfolk. At length, when the one continued to deny what the other affirmed, it was refolved, that this controverfy should be determined by the laws of chivalry, in a fingle combat between the contending parties; and that this combat should be fought at Coventry, September 16., before the King and

Walfingham, p. 356.

Parliament. Hift. vol. 1. p. 490.

the committee of parliament. But when the A.D. 1348. two noble combatants had entered the lifts, and were ready to engage, the King interpoled, and by the advice of the parliamentary commissioners, pronounced the following fentence: "That " the Duke of Hereford should be banished the kingdom for ten years, to depart on or before the 13th of October next; - that the Duke of Norfolk should void the realm for term of " life, and that he should be out of the king-" dom by the 20th of October next 158." Both the dukes, before their departure, obtained letters-patent from the King, with consent of the committee of parliament, impowering them to constitute certain persons their attornies, for receiving in their name any inheritance that might fall to them during their exile 159. This transaction, sufficiently mysterious in itself, is ftrangely misrepresented by Sir John Froisfart, a contemporary historian, with a view to exculpate the Duke of Hereford (afterwards Henry IV.), and to blacken the characters of the King and of the Duke of Norfolk. 160

The King, at the conclusion of the great pare Disconliament (as it was called), had granted a gene- tents ral indemnity to all his fubjects, for all treafons, govern-&c. of which they had been guilty; but none ment. were to enjoy the benefit of this indemnity, who did not take out charters of pardon be-

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Walfing. p. 356. Parliament. Hift. vol. 1. p. 494.

<sup>159</sup> Rymeri Fæd. t.8. p.49. 51.

<sup>160</sup> Froiffart, t.4. c. 92. p.296.

A.D. 1308. fore St. John's day, A. D. 1308. 161 Many having neglected to do this, the courtiers, and particularly the parliamentary commissioners, extorted great fums of money from them: which occasioned much discontent with the King and his confidents 162. These discontents were very much increased by the complaints of the families and friends of the late Duke of Gloucester, and of the two banished Dukes of Hereford and Norfolk; and the arbitrary proceedings of the committee of parliament, who made laws, and acted in all things as if they had been a full parliament, still further inflamed the minds of the people. 163

A.D. 1399. Death of the Duke of Lancafter.

and Things

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When the nation was in this ferment the famous John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster died, February 3., A.D. 1399. 164 By this event, a prodigious accession of wealth and power fell to his only fon Henry of Bolingbroke, the banished Duke of Hereford, to the peaceable poffession of which he ought to have been admitted by his attorney, according to the tenor of his letters-patent 165. But the King and committee of parliament, contrary to the plainest dictates of equity and prudence, on March 18., declared these letters null and void. and feized all the great estates of the late Duke of Lancaster. This flagrant act of tyranny and op-

Parliament. Hift. p. 487.

<sup>162</sup> T. Otterbourne, Chron. p. 199. Ruffhead's Statutes, vol. 1. p. 422, &c.

<sup>164,</sup> T. Otterbourne, p. 197.

<sup>165</sup> Rymer. Fæd. t.8. p.49. Walfing. p. 357.

pression excited universal indignation against the A.D. 1399. authors of it, and compassion for Henry now Duke of Lancaster.

tion into

The infatuated Richard, after he had excited Expedifuch general discontent among his subjects, was so imprudent as to leave England, and to carry with him all the great men on whose attachment he could depend 166. Having collected great fums of money, by means which still further increased the disaffection of hispeople, and constituted his uncle the Duke of York regent of the kingdom, he failed from Milford-haven about the end of May, and foon after landed in Ireland with a powerful army 167. The defign of this most unseasonable expedition was, to revenge the death of Roger Mortimer Earl of March, the presumptive heir of his crown, and to reduce that kingdom to a more perfect fubjection. But he was not allowed time to make any great progrefs in the execution of that defign. Dules of Vork and Langahor

Henry of Bolingbroke was at the court of Duke of France when he received intelligence of his father's death, and of the revocation of his letters- England. patent; and he foon after received invitations from his numerous and powerful friends in England, to come over and vindicate his rights to the estate of Lancaster 168. Encouraged by these invitations, and the news of Richard's expedition into Ireland, he refolved to return into England: and having obtained a few ships, and a small

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<sup>266</sup> Walfing. p. 557. Rymeri Fæd. t.8. p.83.

<sup>167</sup> T. Otterbourne, Chron. p.200. 168 Froissart. tom. 4. ch. 105.

number of armed men, from the Duke of Britanny, he put to fea, with the exiled Archbishop of Canterbury and the young Earl of Arundel in his company 169. After hovering fome days on the coaft, he landed at Ravenspure, in Yorkshire. July 4.; and was joined by the powerful Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, with the other barons of the north, and their followers 170. Seeing himself at the head of a great army, he marched fouthward, giving out, that he was come only to recover his inheritance of Lancaster; which brought fuch multitudes to his standard, that they foon mounted to fixty thousand men.

Agreement between the Dukes of York and Lancafter.

Bulke of

England.

The Duke of York, regent of the kingdom, raifed a confiderable army, with which he marched towards Briftol, about which place it was expected the Kingwould land from Ireland. By this means the armies approaching each other, a conference washeld at Berkeley, on Sunday July 27., between the Dukes of York and Lancaster, and a certain number of their friends. At this conference, the Duke of Lancaster still pretending that he came only for the recovery of his inheritance, an agreement was foon made, and he was joined by the Duke of York and the greatest part of his forces. 171

Caftle of Briftol furrendered.

ndmain

The Duke of Lancaster then inarched at the head of the united armies, and invested the castle of Briftol, in which fome of the most obnoxious of the King's confidents had taken shelter. Sir Peter Courtney governor of the caftle, after some helita-

Walfing. p.35%. 169 Froissart, tom. 4. ch. 106. T. Otterbourne, p. 205. 170 Id. ibid.

tion, agreed to furrender, at the command of the AD. 1200. Duke of York, as regent of the kingdom, having flipulated for the liberty of all the garrison, except the Earl of Wiltshire, Sir John Buffy, and Sir Henry Grene, the hated ministers. These three unhappy perfons being delivered to the Duke of Lancaster, were immediately beheaded at his command, without any trial. 172

About the beginning of August, King Richard King landed at Milford-haven with his troops from Ire-Richard land, intending to join the Duke of York, who he ed. believed to be at the head of an army, raifed in his name, to support his authority. But when he received intelligence that the Regent and his forces had united with the Duke of Lancaster, he disbanded his finall army, and retired with a few faithful friends to Conway. Here it was debated in his little council, whether he should leave the kingdom, and take shelter in his French dominions, or open a negotiation with the Duke of Lancaster, who had not yet declared his defigns upon the crown. The last and most imprudent of these measures was adopted, and the Duke of Exeter fent to propose the treaty; but was detained by the Duke of Lancaster, who dispatched the Earl of Northumberland to Conway with very moderate demands, which were readily granted. The Earl then invited Richard to a perfonal conference with the Duke of Lancaster, in Flint castle, to finish the negotiation; to which the King agreed,

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A.D. 1399.

and immediately fet out from Conway, August 19., accompanied by his few remaining friends. But on the road they were surrounded by a body of armed men, and conducted to the castle of Flint as prisoners. Next day the Duke of Lancaster, after a short conference (in which he said he was come to assist his cousin in the government of the kingdom), conducted the King to his head quarters at Chester; and from thence by easy journies, to the tower of London, where he was lodged on Tuesday September 2. 173

King Richard's refignation.

The Duke of Lancaster, having the King in his power, no longer confined his pretentions to the estate of Lancaster, but publicly aspired to the crown; and employed all his art to obtain it in a manner that had a plaufible appearance. When the plan was formed, it was proposed in council by the Duke of York to this purpofe—That the King should be made to subscribe a refignation of his crown; and that he should also be deposed by parliament, for certain crimes, that it might appear he was willing to give up his crown, and that the nation thought him unworthy of possessing it 174. To carry this plan into execution, a parliament was fummoned in King Richard's name, to meet at Westminster September 30. On the day before the meeting of parliament, King Richard, in his chamber in the tower, before the Duke of Lancaster, with the prelates and lords of his party,

174 Life of Richard II. p. 191.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>173</sup> T. Walfing. p. 358. T. Otterbourne, p. 208. Froissart, tom. 4. ch. 110. Life of Richard by a Person of Quality, p. 190. Carte, vol. 2. p. 634, 635.

fubscribed the instrument of his refignation, con- A.D. 1309. ceived in as clear and strong terms as could be devised 175. When the parliament met, this instrument was produced and read: and the members being asked, if they accepted of this refignation, answered in the affirmative. 176

It was then proposed, in order to remove all Articles fcruples and doubts, that certain articles, contain- against King ing the crimes and errors of which King Richard Richard. had been guilty, and for which he deferved to be deposed, should be read; which was accordingly done. To these articles (which were thirty-five in number) was prefixed King Richard's coronation-oath; and the defign of the feveral articles was to prove, that by fuch and fuch acts of government he had violated that oath. These articles being too long to be here inferted, it is fufficient to fay, that some of them were false, fome of them trifling, many of them exaggerated, and a few of them but too well founded: for it cannot be denied, that Richard had been guilty of many imprudent, and of fome illegal actions. 127

Though many lords and prelates in this par- King liament had been loaded with benefits by King Richard Richard, none of them had the courage or gratitude to speak a word in his defence on this occafion, except Thomas Merks, Bishop of Carlisle 178.

Acceffion of Henr

Life of Richard II. p. 195. Otterbourne, p. 212.

<sup>176</sup> T. Walfing. p. 359. 177 Knyghton, col. 2746-2756. 178 Sir John Froissart relates, that the King's favourite dog, named Math, forfook his mafter as foon as he faw him taken prisoner, and fawned upon the Duke of Lancaster. Froissart, tom. 4. ch. 110.

A.D. 1300: That learned and undaunted prelate, in a long and eloquent speech, exposed the iniquity and danger of the present proceedings, and vindicated the character of his unhappy fovereign in many particulars, imputing the errors into which he had fallen rather to his want of experience, or to and evil council, than to malice 179. The only answer lines given to this speech was an order to the Earl Marshal, from the Duke of Lancaster, to take the Bishop into custody, and fend him a prisoner to the abbey of St. Alban's: a more unconstitutional and arbitrary deed than any King Richard had ever done! After this there was an end to all debate. All the articles were fuftained as true; King Richard was folemnly deposed; and a committee appointed to intimate that fentence to the degraded monarch. 180

Accession of Henry IV.

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Richard d posed.

The throne of England being thus declared empty, Henry Duke of Lancaster (though he was not the nearest heir to the last possessor) arose from his feat, and (having with great appearance of devotion, invoked the name of Christ, and croffed himfelf on the breast and forehead) claimed the crown in the following remarkable words,-" In the name of Fadher, Son, and Holy "Ghoft, I Henry of Lancaster, challenge this " rewine of Ynglonde, and the croune, with all the " members, and the apurtenances, als I that am " descendit be right lyne of the blode, cuming fra

Hayward's Life of Henry IV. p. 101.

Walfing. p.359. Otterbourne, p.218.

the gude lorde King Henry Thirde, and throughe A.D. 1200. " that rygt that God of his grace hath fent me with " helpe of my kyn, and of my frendes to recover " it: the whiche rewme was in pount to be ondone " for defaut of governance, and undoying of the " gude lawes 181." This very artful and ambiguous speech, which hinted at the two different titles of descent and conquest, was received with great applause; and the Duke's claim, though all the world knew it to be ill-founded, was unanimously declared by parliament to be just. Upon this, the Archbishop of Canterbury took Henry by the right hand, and conducted him towards the empty throne; and, with the affiftance of the Archbishop of York, placed him in it, amidst the loud acclamations of the whole affembly. As foon as filence could be procured, the primate preached a very indifferent fermon (if the historian hath not wronged him) from I Samuel, ix. 17. "Behold the man whom I spake to thee of: this " fame shall reign over my people." Sermon being ended, the new king apprehending that the hint at conquest in his former speech might give some offence, stood up, and made the following declaration: "Sires, I thank God, and zowe, " Spirituel and temporel, and all the aftates of the " lond, and do zowe to wyte, it es noght my will that no man thynk that be waye of conquest I " wold disherit any man of his heritage, franches, " or other ryghts that hymaght to have, no put hym

Dearly. of Ri-

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His chur-

181 Knyghton, col. 2757.

acted

" out of that that he has, and has had by the gude " lawes and custumes of the rewme: except those ce persons that has ben agan the gude purpose, and the commune profit of the rewine 192." Thus ended the important business of this memorable day (September 30., A.D. 1399.), in which one king was pulled down, and another exalted to the throne of England. The fatal confequences of this revolution will appear in the first chapter of the fifth book of this work.

Death of Richard II.

Though the fate of the dethroned King doth not fall within the limits of our prefent period, it followed fo foon after it, and is fo intimately connected with it, that it can be no great impropriety to introduce it here, together with a very short character of that unhappy prince. Richard did not long furvive his deposition, though the exact time and manner of his death are not certainly known 183. The most probable account is, that he was starved to death in the castle of Pontefract in Yorkshire, about the beginning of the year 1400: 184 a mind went off below anied

His character.

Richard of Bourdeaux (fo called from the place of his birth) was remarkably beautiful and handfome in his person, and doth not seem to have been naturally defective either in courage or understanding: for on some occasions, particularly in the dangerous infurrection of the commons, he

<sup>182</sup> Knyghton, col. 2758, 2759. Froissart, t. 4. c. 119.

<sup>184</sup> Otterbourne, p. 229. Vita Richard II. p. 162. Anglia Sacra tom. 2. p. 365.

acted with a degree of spirit and prudence su- A.D. 1309. perior to his years. But his education was miferably neglected, or rather he was intentionally corrupted and debauched by his three ambitious uncles, who, being defirous of retaining the management of all affairs, encouraged him to fpend his time in the company of disfolute young people of both fexes, in a continued course of feafting and diffipation. By this means he contracted a taste for pomp and pleasure, and a diflike to bufinefs. The greatest foible in the character of this unhappy prince, was an exceffive fondness for, and unbounded liberality to his favourites, which enraged his uncles, particularly the Duke of Gloucester, and disgusted such of the nobility as did not partake of his bounty. He was an affectionate husband, a generous master, and a faithful friend; and, if he had received a proper education, might have proved a great and good king. Richard was dethroned in the 23d year of his reign, and the 34th of his age, and never had any children. If any regard had been paid to the constitution or the rights of blood, he would have been fucceeded by Edmund Mortimer Earl of March, descended from Lionel. Duke of Clarence, third fon of Edward III. and elder brother of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster. But in the tumult of faction which attended this revolution, that young nobleman's name and rights were hardly ever mentioned, though his father, Roger Mortimer Earl of March, had been declared presumptive heir VOL. VII. of BB

A.D. 1371. of the crown, by act of parliament, A.D.

History of Scotland.

DAVID II. King of Scotland, the fon and fuccessor of the heroic Robert Bruce, died A. D. 1371.; and was fucceeded by his nephew Robert Stewart 185. During the first years of this prince's reign, the borderers of both the British kingdoms made frequent incursions into each other's countries 187. To put a stop to these predatory expeditions, which were very destructive, several meetings were held between commissioners appointed by both kings, who made flort truces, which were ill observed 158. John of Gaunt, King of Castile and Duke of Lancaster, being at Berwick, A. D. 1381., negotiating one of these truces, when the great infurrection of the commons (to whom he was obnoxious) broke out, he retired into Scotland, and was very hospitably entertained at Holyroodhouse, till the infurgents were dispersed 189. As soon as the three years truce which had been made at Berwick was expired, the war was renewed, and mutual invalions took place. Two of the invalions of Scotland by the English were very formidable; being made with powerful fleets, as well as great armies, they feemed to aim at conquest. The first of these invasions, A. D. 1384., was conducted by the Duke of Lancaster, and the

<sup>185</sup> Parliament, Hift. vol, 1. p. 387, 388.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>185</sup> Fordun, t. 2. p. 380, &c in not. <sup>187</sup> Buchan. Hist. l. 9. p. 168, &c.

<sup>198</sup> Rymeri Fæd. t. 7. p. 175. 183. 206. 245. 279.

<sup>169</sup> Id. ibid. p. 312. Buchan. p. 169.

fecond, A. D. 1385., by Richard II. in person. A.D. 1388. But they both terminated, as many others had done, in the devastation of the country near the border; and these devastations were retaliated by the Scots, affifted by fome French auxiliaries 190. In one of these incursions of the Scots into England, the famous battle of Otterburn was fought, A.D. 1388., with great valour on both fides, in which Henry Lord Percy, who commanded the English, was taken, and James Earl of Douglas, who commanded the Scots, was killed. 191

Robert II. finding himself unfit for the ma- Death, &c. nagement of affairs, through age and bodily in- of Rofirmities, constituted his second son, Robert Earl of Fife, governor of the kingdom, in a parliament held at Edinburgh, A. D. 1389. 192 The governor, immediately after his elevation to that dignity, raifed an army and made an incursion into England; but the English avoiding an engagement, he plundered fome part of the open country, and then returned home. About the fame time ambassadors came to the court of Scotland, from the kings of France and England, to notify a truce for three years, which had been lately concluded between these two princes, and such of their allies as acceded to it. The ambassadors applying to the governor, he referred them to the king his father, who acceded to the truce, which gave a check to the mutual depredations

<sup>190</sup> Walfing. p. 316, 317. Fordun, t. 2. p. 401. 191 Id. ibid. p. 406-414.

A.D. 1388.

of the borderers for fome time <sup>193</sup>. The King died 17th April A. D. 1390., in the twentieth year of his reign, and the feventy-fourth of his age. He was remarkably tall, of a cheerful and pleasant countenance, and great affability of manners; but being of a mild pacific spirit, he had but little authority over some of his turbulent barons, who raised armies, and engaged in wars, without so much as asking his consent. <sup>194</sup>

Marriages of Robert II.

Robert II. when he was very young, married Elizabeth More, daughter of Sir Adam More. with whom he was within the prohibited degrees of confanguinity or affinity, and on that account their marriage was for fome time esteemed unlawful, because it had been celebrated without a papal dispensation. But that dispensation was obtained A. D. 1349., by which the legality of the marriage was completed 195. By this lady. who died long before his accession, he had three fons, John Earl of Carrick, Robert Earl of Fife, and Alexander Earl of Buchan. After the death of Elizabeth, he married the Lady Euphemia, daughter of Hugh Earl of Ross, by whom he had two fons, Walter Earl of Athol, and David Earl of Strathern. The mistakes of many of our historians concerning the marriages of this prince, are fully detected in the differtation quoted below, and the legitimacy of his five fons clearly established. 196

Robert

<sup>193</sup> Rymeri Fæd. t. 7. p. 675.

<sup>194</sup> Fordun, t. 2. p. 383.
195 See De nuptiis Roberti Senefcalli Scotia atque Elizabetha

Mora differtatio, printed at the end of the fecond volume of the Edinburgh edition of Fordun.

Robert II. was fucceeded by his eldeft fon John, A.D. 1306. who was crowned at Scone, August 13., and immediately after, by the advice of his parliament, assumed the name of Robert III. 197 This prince, before his coronation, took a folemn oath to obferve the truce with England; and that truce being afterwards prolonged for feveral years, fecured his kingdom from foreign enemies 198. But its internal tranquillity was very much diffurbed by violent quarrels and deadly feuds between different clans and families. One of these feuds between two of the highland clans, which had been very bloody, and threatened the extirpation of them both, was determined by a folemn judicial combat between thirty of each clan, before the king and court, and a prodigious multitude of spectators, in a beautiful plain on the banks of the river Tay, near Perth, A.D. 1306. This combat, with fwords only, without any defensive armour, was fought with such unrelenting fury, that nineteen on the one fide were killed, and the remaining eleven dangerously wounded, while only one on the other fide furvived, but unhurt 199. In a parliament held at Scone, April 28. A.D. 1398., the king created his eldest fon David Duke of Rothsay, and his brother Robert Earl of Fife, who had still the chief direction of all affairs, Duke of Albany, which were the two first dukes in Scotland 200. The truce between England and Scot-

<sup>197</sup> Fordun, t. 2. p. 418.

<sup>193</sup> Rymeri Ford. t. 7. p. 683. 725.

<sup>199</sup> Fordun, tom. 2. p. 420. Buchan. 1. 10. c. 1.

<sup>200</sup> Fordun, tom. 2. p. 422.

A.D. 1398. land being terminated by the deposition of Richard III. hostilities between the two kingdoms were renewed foon after the accession of Henry. IV. But as the time of these hostilities, and of the other events of the reign of Robert III. is without the limits of our present period, the history of them will be more properly introduced in the first chapter of the fifth book of this work.

END OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME.

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